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CHERVOV GIVES VIEWS ON U.S. CRUISE MISSILES

AU051205 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 3 Jan 82 p 4

[APN military observer Vasiliy Morozov interview with Soviet Col Gen Nikolay Chervov: "A Soviet Military Expert on the Threatening New Armament Round: What Are Cruise Missiles?" -- date and place not given]

[Text] Col Gen Nikolay Chervov, a well-known military political expert and spokesman of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, commented on the plans for mass production of the American cruise missiles in an interview with Col Vasiliy Morozov, APN military observer.

V. Morozov: Limiting and reducing nuclear arms, reducing the level of military confrontation, constructive negotiations and development of mutually advantageous cooperation constitute the main roads to peace which the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are ready to tread.

The leading representatives of the U.S. administration are taking a different approach to these problems.

N. Chervov: Unfortunately this is true. More and more new military plans are being worked out and accepted in the United States. The program for modernizing armaments announced by President Ronald Reagan in October 1981 is aimed at an accelerated escalation of the combat possibilities of the strategic nuclear forces, first and foremost at positioning the intercontinental ballistic MX missiles and ballistic missiles on submarines of the Trident type, as well as the construction of new, heavy bombers and of sea, land and air-based strategic cruise missiles and at an escalation of these possibilities through an increase of the number and destructive power of nuclear ammunition. It is being planned to spend some $200 billion for these purposes in the 1982-87 budget years.

The United States is also increasingly actively enlisting the other NATO countries in the implementation of its military plans. Proof of this is the decision on the deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the start of the serial production of the neutron weapon which is intended for stationing primarily in Western Europe, as well as the Pentagon's intention to deliver new U.S. nuclear artillery shells to Western Europe and to almost double the numbers of nuclear artillery.

The combat and numerical strength of the armed forces of the United States and the other NATO states will increase substantially. The protocol on Spain's accession to NATO was signed. Leading U.S. politicians do not conceal their intention to alter the existing balance of powers in their favor.

V. Morozov: What are the cruise missiles on which Washington is placing such great hopes?

N. Chervov: To put it frankly, an extremely dangerous weapon which is not intended for defense but for aggression. According to the estimates of U.S. military people, the cruise missiles possess possibilities for employment which can strongly influence the methods of warfare. The U.S. Air Force secretary termed the decision to station cruise missiles "an important landmark in the history of strategic deterrence" which could have a substantial impact on the strategic equilibrium.

Cruise missiles are unmanned guided delivery vehicles for nuclear charges with a destructive power of 150-200 kilotons (an explosive power which is about 10 times bigger than that of the atomic bomb dropped over Hiroshima) and a range of 3,000 kms. Thanks to a special guiding system they are in a position to even hit small protected objects with a great degree of accuracy.

Launched from aircraft, submarines, surface vessels and land-based launching pads, such missiles are able to approach targets at a low altitude down to 60 meters, and in doing so can fly past natural obstacles, something which makes it difficult to locate and destroy them by air defense means.

The cost of a U.S. cruise missile of the Tomahawk type is relatively low -- $1.5-3 million. The relatively low costs, high combat qualities and the possibility to produce them on a mass scale in a short time -- all this makes them, according to Pentagon calculations, a promising means for achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union.

The program for modernizing the U.S. strategic forces envisages remodeling the avaliable B-52 bombers for outfitting them with long-range cruise missiles. The first squadron of such aircraft is already to join the fighting forces in late 1982. In addition, the new strategic B-1 bomber will also be used as a delivery vehicle. It is planned to produce some 4,000 air-based cruise missiles in the near future, and up to some 7,000 until the nineties. The U.S. Navy is to be outfitted with 1,000 cruise missiles. As was reported in the press, in addition to submarines, surface vessels also will be equipped with missiles including the battleships "New Jersey" and "Iowa" which have been recommissioned.

The United States expects to be able in 1983 to begin with the deployment of hundreds of land-based cruise missiles which, aimed at the Soviet Union, will constitute, together with the ballistic Pershing II missiles, the basis of the "Eurostrategic" nuclear potential according to Washington's intention. They will ensure an advantage for the United States in the sense that being deployed near the borders of the socialist countries, they could substantially change the general situation in Europe as well as throughout the entire world.

V. Morozov: Why is Washington giving preference to that particular type of strategic armament?

N. Chervov: Last but not least, because considerations regarding arms control do not apply to them, from the viewpoint of their limitation, as well as regarding compliance controls with contingent agreements with national technical means of other side.

The U.S. Government, which is making demagogical statements about its faithfulness to "arms control", is actually undermining it. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, for instance, declared quite openly that "armament control has to be supplemented by military programs." But since these programs, which also include cruise missiles, are designed to ensure military superiority over the USSR, the question is justified: Is a rapid increase of these armaments suited to facilitate negotiations and the establishment of a control of armaments? Is it not absurd to waste funds on the mass production of cruise missiles only to subsequently renounce them? The unilateral actions of the United States to deploy cruise missiles cannot be assessed as anything but an attempt at all costs to destroy the military-strategic balance in its favor.

V. Morozov: The American side also attempted repeatedly in the past to reject a limitation of cruise missiles. The Soviet Union, however, guided by the endeavor to block channels for the further strategic arms race and proceeding from the principle of equality and equal security, resolutely advocated a limitation of cruise missiles with a range exceeding 600 kilometers under the same conditions as apply to other types of strategic arms. This had to be agreed to also by the United States, which recognized cruise missiles with a range exceeding 600 kilometers as strategic weapons.

N. Chervov: Yes, that is correct. The air-based cruise missiles were included in the SALT II treaty. It limited the number of cruise missiles with a range exceeding 600 kms installed on heavy bombers.

The bombers themselves were placed in the same category as delivery vehicles with multiple warheads. The question of land and sea-based cruise missiles was resolved on a provisional basis. The deployment of such missiles was banned by the protocol attached to the SALT II agreement that was to remain in effect until 31 December 1981. In the joint Soviet-American declaration on the principles and main directions of the subsequent negotiations, the agreement of both sides was stipulated to discuss in future the question of land and sea-based cruise missiles so as to finally resolve it. These agreements were regarded as part and parcel of the treaty, and were taken into consideration when determining the highest quantitative level of strategic delivery vehicles.

The United States, which refused to ratify the SALT II treaty and also ignored other agreements and adopted commitments, for all practical purposes pushed a course aimed beginning as early as in 1982 with the deployment of land and sea-based cruise missiles with a range exceeding 600 kms. According to U.S. press reports, it is planned to produce approxmiately 13,000 rockets [raketen] of various types and for various purposes, including up to 40 percent for nuclear warheads.

V. Morozov: At the conclusion of our talk we can stress once more that the strategic cruise missiles constitute a serious factor that is increasing the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war.

N. Chervov: There is every reason to draw this conclusion. The mass deployment of cruise missiles with nuclear and conventional warheads, their use for tactical, operative and also strategic purposes will lead to blurring the borderline between strategic and tactical weapons, to lowering the nuclear threshhold and to increasing the risk of a nuclear conflict.

The deployment of cruise missiles by the United States will also motivate other countries to develop or acquire such weapons. Thus, for example, it is known that West German and American firms are jointly working on designing an air and land-based cruise missile. In England and France similar projects are underway independently. The possibility of camouflaging cruise missiles, secretly transferring and stockpiling them, and using them together with such strategic arms as ICBMs and submarine-based ballistic missiles, makes the cruise missiles a dangerous means of destabilizing the international situation.

The Soviet Union firmly opposes the arms race and appeals to the United States to negotiate on all aspects of the disarmament problem -- to hold constructive, honest negotiations on the basis of equality and equal security. We do not have a single type of arms, Brezhnev said in Bonn, with which we would not part without regret. Of course, that is not rhetoric. We are ready to confirm every word by deeds, to translate it into the language of specific commitments, be it at the negotiations in Geneva, Vienna or elsewhere.

However, it would be -- to say the least -- naive to assess the Soviet Union's love of peace, its striving for limitation and reduction of any type of armament, as a sign of weakness. The Soviet Union will find an appropriate and at the same time effective answer to any challenge.

Should Washington prefer, in violation of the concluded agreements, to open a new channel for the arms race with strategic weapons, the United States will fully bear the responsibility for the further increase of the danger to international security.

SOVIET SPACE PROBES CONTINUE FLIGHT TO VENUS

LD251548 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec, TASS -- The Soviet automatic space probes "Venera-13" and "Venera-14" are continuing their interplanetary voyage to Venus. In accordance with their flight programs, the probes are carrying out en-route comprehensive studies of the physical processes in outer space.

They are continuing experiments, involving the use of Soviet and French instrumentation, to determine the position and characteristics of gamma radiation sources located in space. The measurements, made by the two probes simultaneously, will make it possible to establish the radiation sources' coordinates.

It was found out after a preliminary analysis of the in-coming information that the probes' instruments have registered over ten gamma-ray bursts and a large number of solar flares accompanied by powerful gamma-ray fluxes. The probes are conducting regular research into the interplanetary magnetic field by using magnetometers developed by Austrian specialists. The measurement of accelerated particles of solar and galactic origin has also been systematically made.

"Venera-13" has travelled 17.906 million kilometres and "Venera-14" 16.91 million kilometres away from the earth by today.

According to telemetry data, the probes' on-board systems are functioning normally.

The scientific information beamed to the earth is being processed and studied.

GROMYKO CONGRATULATES NEW UN SECRETARY GENERAL

LD171012 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec, TASS -- USSR Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko has addressed a telegram to Javier Perez de Cuellar saying: "Please, accept my congratulations on the occasion of your appointment to the high post of the UN secretary general. I am expressing hope that in your activity in this post you will contribute to enhancing the prestige and effectiveness of the organization as an important instrument for maintaining peace and international security. The implementation of this noble and responsible task in the complicated international situation requires collective efforts by the states, an active role of the United Nations Organization. [quotation mark as received]

BOVIN PONDERS 'RADICAL CHANGE' IN U.S. POLICY

PM051433 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 82 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin article under rubric "Embarking on 1982": "The Process of the Renewal of the World Is Invincible"]

[Text] The first year of the eighties was alarming. And as yet the year that succeeds it promises no particular joys. Times are difficult for detente. New impetus has been lent to the arms race. Dramatic collisions, conflicts and acute clashes of interest permeate the fabric of world politics. Such is reality.

What has happened? Why has it not been possible to dig in on the positions of detente achieved in the seventies? The reason is clear. The foreign policy course of the United States has changed abruptly. NATO military spending was increased at the Americans' insistence. The United States rejected coordinated action with the Soviet Union in the Near East. The SALT II treaty was torpedoed. The talks on demilitarizing the Indian Ocean, on limiting sales of conventional weapons, on a total and universal ban on nuclear weapon tests and so on and so forth were wound up on Washington's initiative.

All this began back in Carter's time. The new administration has completed the turnabout in Washington's foreign policy and has given it an ideological underpinning. Foreign policy strategy has been centered on an overt struggle against the Soviet Union, the buildup of military force and the threat of military force. "The argument," R. Reagan declared, "can only be about what weapons we need and what weapons we do not need, and certainly not about whether we ought to abandon weaponry for treaties and agreements." The United States, U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig claims, "has replaced the dual foundations of detente and defense with two other basic principles: reciprocity and strength." These statements are bolstered by a substantial increase in military appropriations and a dangerous evolution of American nuclear doctrine.

Now it is clearly time to move on to the second "why." Why has the U.S. foreign policy course changed: Because -- or so people in Washington nowadays say -- there hung over America a "colossal threat" from the Soviet Union, which -- they are horrified across the Atlantic -- is already ahead (or will soon be ahead) of the United States in terms of practically all the basic parameters of military might. U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger declared, we "have clear evidence of Russian aggressive behavior all over the world." Hence, according to Weinberger, there is a need for the faster buildup of American military potential so as "to be able to repel Soviet aggression worldwide." That is clear and simple. But probably too simple to be true.

The truth lies elsewhere. The radical change in American policy is the reaction of the most rightwing, conservative section of the U.S. ruling class to the political failures and social changes that have resulted in a marked decline in America's political influence and prestige. The Americans have supported reactionary puppet, colonial regimes, yet these regimes have vanished one after another into political oblivion. Even the U.S. allies -- some gloatingly, others bitterly -- have been forced to note the inconsistency and clumisness of American foreign policy, the unreality of many of its goals and the growing gap between things as they actually are and what goes on in the heads of American foreign policy strategists.

America found itself at a crossroads. The objective logic of events demanded a recognition that the world is not developing according to American models and that no force can stop the onward course of history. There have always been people in the United States who realize this. Back in the late forties W. Lippmann, one of the best-known American journalists, wrote that the United States "is not so rich that it can subsidize reaction all over the world and not so strong that it can keep it in power." Unfortunately, in the late seventies a wave of chauvinism drowned the sober voices.

It transpires that the detente "imposed by the Soviet Union," which undermined America's "spirit" and "will," is to blame for every ill. The Soviet Union, which stages anti-American coups everywhere it can and even where it can't, is to blame.

The "hand of Havana" and the other "hands" friendly toward the Soviet Union which steadily undermine U.S. security are to blame. Washington's present foreign policy course emerged on the basis of this primitive philosophy and vision of the world. To secure military superiority over the Soviet Union, to scare and "pressure" Moscow and thereby pacify the Third World -- those are more or less the terms set for the task.

It is a task that cannot be resolved. First, the Soviet Union will not allow the strategic military equilibrium to be disrupted. Second, it is at the very least pointless to "scare" our country. And third, the process of world social renewal will continue irrespective of Washington's intentions -- not because Moscow wants this, but because people want to live better.

Of course, the Soviet Union has helped and will continue to help peoples and political movements fighting against setups that they find odious. The United States prefers to support moribund antipeople regimes -- be it El Salvador or Guatemala, Chile or the Republic of South Africa. If the peoples' anger is turned against the Americans and if America's prestige is declining, it is not Moscow that is to blame....

In recent months many observers have noted changes in the tone of speeches and statements delivered from Washington. There is -- or so they say -- now less stupidity, less cheap bravado, less of that cowboy daredevilry. Maybe. But policy cannot be reduced to tone. Policy is first and foremost action. As yet there is no sign of life here.

With almost maniacal persistence the new administration continues to interfere in other states' internal affairs and continues its policy of sanctions and blackmail, which has proved invalid. Reagan celebrated Christmas with sanctions against Poland. He celegrated the New Year with sanctions against the Soviet Union. Why is he bent on this? Because hopes of exploding the socialist Polish state from within have collapsed. Because the Poles have found the strength to save the country from catastrophe. As for Reagan's sanctions, their political significance will probably boil down to just one point: yet further evidence of Washington's refusal to come to terms with America's actual capabilities, or the people's right to handle their own affairs independently, or other states' interests.

"Ronald Reagan has done almost everything he promised. But some of it hasn't worked, and some has been inappropriate. So the administration is ending the year triumphantly foundering." That is what American commentator J. Kraft writes in the Wasington POST. Let it flounder, is what one would like to say. But you cannot say that. The threat posed by Washington's policy is very real, even for America. I don't know how many more bumps the Americans have to take before they realize that. If they do realize it, the coming year will be more tranquil than the last. If they don't, another disturbing year lies in store for us.

It is not very pleasant to think about that on the threshold of the new year. But that is the situation. And because that is the situation, the Soviet Union and all wh value the peoples' well-being are multiplying their efforts in the struggle for peace. We are countering the adversaries of detente with tenacity and confidence -- confidence in our own strenth and in the justice of our cause. We are countering them with clear, constructive stands on the whole range of international problems. To return world politics to the channel of detente is our goal. No matter how long and hard that path, the Soviet Union will not turn from it.

U.S. POLICY NOW GEARED TOWARD CONFRONTATION

PM051121 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Dec 81 p 3

[Col M. Ponomarev military-political review: "Peace -- That Is the Main Thing for the World's Peoples"]

[Text] The Soviet peace initiatives were the s gn of the outgoing year. The struggle to preserve and consolidate detente, to curb the arms race and to ensure the peoples' security permeates all the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the international arena.

The peace program for the eighties elaborated by the 26th party congress is now one of the main factors of world politics.

The foreign policy initiatives which the USSR has put forward throughout the year are frequently called the "Soviet peace offensive" in the West. We make it a rule to avoid military terminology when we are speaking of peace matters. But we are not about to argue here. An offensive is an offensive. It is not a matter of a word but of the noble essence of the Soviet Union's actions, which accord with the interests of all peoples and all mankind.

Indeed, the Soviet proposals on strategic arms limitation, the prevention of nuclear catastrophe, military detente and confidence-building measures in Europe and the Far East, the collective search for a way of settling the Near East problem on a just and realistic basis and on other very important international issues are aimed at reducing and ultimately completely eliminating the danger of war. Their objective is to ensure for the Soviet people and all other peoples the opportunity to live under conditions of peace.

This was clearly manifested during Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's recent visit to the FRG. The new Soviet proposals he put forward for curtailing the arms race in Europe showed once more the Soviet Union's constructive approach to the most acute problems of today. Life attests that the USSR is prepared for the most far-reaching steps and is prepared to discuss and resolve the most difficult questions if only its partners are also guided by the fundamental principle of parity and equal security.

The Soviet Union's unaltered course toward preserving and strengthening the people's security is determined by the very essence of the Soviet social and state system. Aggressive objectives are organically alien to the Soviet Union. And if the USSR strengthens its defense capability and keeps its armed forces in constant combat readiness, it is obliged to do so in the face of the undisguised military threat from the aggressive circles of imperialism.

The course of U.S. ruling circles is diametrically opposed to the USSR's course in the international arena. With the Reagan administration's advent to power at the beginning of this year the shift in U.S. foreign policy from detente to confrontation was definitively established. This policy is now defined by the most reactionary and bellicose representatives of U.S. imperialist circles. They have resolved to stop history's advance by force and to regain their lost positions and establish U.S. rule on a global scale.

From Reagan's first days in the White House he and his entourage have adopted the line of an unrestrained arms race, above all in the most dangerous sphere, that of nuclear missiles. It is no accident that a leading U.S. commentator, J. Kraft, wrote in the Washington POST that the President's reputation "is the reputation of a missile-toting cowboy."

The U.S. ruling circles have proceeded to step up the entire range of strategic armaments: the modernization of old strategic bombers and the creation of new ones, the production and deployment of new ICBM's and the building of the fleet of nuclear-powered missile-carrying Trident submarines. At the same time major funds have been poured into improving all branches of the armed forces equipped with both nuclear and conventional weapons, and into the accelerated training of the so-called Rapid Deployment Force -- the main tool of the transatlantic militarists' expansionist policy.

What is the reason for this arms race of historically unprecedented proportions and the attendant military hysteria: Its initiators are pursuing several objectives simultaneously. One of them is to break the correlation of forces prevailing in the world and to acquire military superiority over the Soviet Union in order to be able to dictate the U.S. monopolies' will to it, to "roll back" socialism and undermine the world revolutionary process. These designs are unfeasible. However, U.S. imperialism is trying to implement them, even threatening to use force.

Another, more local objective is to disrupt the existing military equilibrium if not throughout the world then at least in Europe. Hence the desire to drag the European NATO partners into another spiral of the arms race by deploying the new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on the continent.

These plans, like the entire U.S. militarist course as a whole, have generated a violent upsurge in the mass antiwar movement. The West German SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG wrote recently: "In postwar Europe there have already been periods of the increased danger of war. But never before has the possibility of war been discussed so intensively, never have people sought peace so passionately as in the outgoing year." Nonetheless the United States has no intention of abandoning its designs, and at the recent NATO Council sessions again forced its allies to continue accelerated preparation for their implementation.

The third objective for which the new round of the arms race has been unleashed to satisfy the U.S. military-industrial complex's selfish interests and to ensure maximum profits for the transatlantic military concerns whose owners are worried about the impact on their revenues of the economic upheavals the capitalist world is experiencing.

While overtly calling the Soviet Union their main adversary, the U.S. ruling circles are evidently nonetheless aware that direct confrontation with the USSR would be too dangerous for them. However, they are not hesitating to fuel existing hotbeds of military conflicts and to create new ones. In Southeast Asia the U.S. imperialists together with the Beijing hegemonists are kindling the conflagration of war on the borders of People's Kampuchea and are setting some of the region's states against the peoples of Indochina. In the Middle East they are pouring out billions of dollars and supplying mountains of weaponry to the reactionary regime in Pakistan, from whose territory an undeclared war is being waged against the Afghan people, and they are stepping up their aggressive intrigues against Iran. The U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf is constantly increasing.

In the struggle against the national liberation and revolutionary movements, Washington relies on the most reactionary and aggressive regimes. In the Near East it has gambled on the Israeli extremists. The recently concluded U.S.-Israeli agreement on "strategic cooperation" gave Tel Aviv a free hand for new aggressive actions and attempts to perpetuate its seizures. Whatever noisy squabbling Washington and Tel Aviv may now be engaging in, it is clear to every sane person that without U.S. approval Israel would never have dared to annex the Golan Heights, which belong to Syria.

U.S. imperialism is also displaying great activity in Central America and the Caribbean region. Wasington is deliberately embarking on the creation of a new international crisis in the region. The United States is threatening freedom-loving Cuba, the people of Nicaragua and the peoples of other Central American countries with economic and military blockade and direct armed intervention. All this is being undertaken with a view to intimidating the peoples and undermining the positions of the forces of progress in Latin America.

The true nature of the United States' crude and highhanded policy has been manifested particularly clearly in Washington's actions with respect to Poland. Faced with the failure of the designs of the counterrevolutionary, antisocialist forces in that country, U.S. ruling circles are trying to exert unprecedented pressure and to undertake outrageous interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Polish state. President Reagan is allowing himself to deliver attacks against Poland which are crude in form and essence, and to dictate to it what it should do and what policy it should pursue. It looks as though Washington would like to turn the internal Polish crisis into an international one and to find in the Polish events justification for continuing its militarist programs.

The representatives of the Washington administration are inflaming the atmosphere around Poland by giving numerous lengthy interviews. In Washington the National Security Council is in almost daily session. Presidential adviser E. Meese has announced the creation of a "special situation group" in the White House. He said that the group is examining "a number of political, diplomatic and economic measures which could be taken." "We are doing a great deal," he continued, "to mobilize international public opinion" -- against the lawful Polish authorities, of course.

Washington is supplementing its highhanded interference in Poland's internal affairs with slander against the Soviet Union. Moreover, the London TIMES has written, the United States has elaborated and put to its allies "a program of far-reaching measures for organizing a strong Western front against the USSR."

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State L. Eagleburger was sent to Europe to patch together just such a front. He visited a number of West European countries and had talks with U.S. NATO partners. True, his mission prompted a very cautious reaction from the majority of U.S. allies. As the West German newspaper GENERAL ANZEIGER put it, the FRG Government has recommended that the United States "adopt a calm wait-and-see stance with respect to the events in Poland."

The people across the ocean, however, have not deemed it necessary to follow this advice. In delivering his Christmas address the other day, Reagan again interfered flagrantly and impudently in Polish affairs. He announced the imposition of a number of sanctions against Poland and threatened new steps in the same direction.

THE U.S. RULING CIRCLES' AGGRESSIVE COURSE AND THEIR GAMBLE ON CONFRONTATION AND MILITARY SUPERIORITY ARE CAUSING GRAVE CONCERN SINCE THEY MAKE THE DANGER OF WAR EXTREMELY TANGIBLE. ANSWERING A QUESTION FROM NBC-TV, COMRADE L.I. BREZHNEV INDICATED WHAT MUST BE DONE TO PREVENT CONFRONTATION. IT IS IMPORTANT, HE STRESSED, THAT GOVERNMENTS AND STATESMEN BE THOROUGHLY AWARE THAT THE MAIN THING FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD IS PEACE AND CONFIDENCE IN TOMORROW. OF COURSE, IT IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAT THIS SHOULD BE EMBODIED IN THE STATES' PRACTICAL POLICY. [passage in all capitals denote boldface as published]

REACTION TO CLARK SECURITY APPOINTMENT NOTED

LD061242 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 6 Jan 81

[Text] Washington, 6 Jan TASS -- A spokesman for the U.S. State Department told a press conference that William Clark had been appointed presidential national security adviser to succeed Richard Allen. William Clark is to retain the post of deputy secretary of state until his successor is named.

Commenting on the appointment of Richard [as published] Clark, political observers point out that Ronald Reagan selects as his closest aides persons whose views accord with the policy pursued by his administration. The new presidential national security adviser, the NBC television company points out, is a hardliner conservative, a tough anticommunist, who shares Reagan's views on the necessity to build up the military potential of the USA as well as Haig's view that it is important to strengthen NATO further. Once, the television company points out, the appointment of Judge Clark from California to a high post in the State Department amazed many people, as Richard Clark had admitted himself that his foreign policy experience was equal to zero. Now he has been appointed to an even higher post... The UPI agency recalled in this connection that during the procedure of endorsement of Clark as deputy U.S. secretary of state he could not answer such questions as who hold the post of prime minister of Zimbabwe and the prime minister of the racist South African Republic, which is so close to the heart of the present U.S. administration.

Paris, 6 Jan TASS -- Commenting on the reshuffle among the White House personnel, French observers point out that in all evidence preference in selecting candidates to high government posts is given in official Washington to those who combine primitive anti-communism and stake on the use in politics of sordid methods of strength and pressure with total ignorance. The French newspaper LE MATIN point out that the new presidential national security adviser is notorious for his ignorance and inability to answer even the simplest questions, and thus once laid himself open to ridicule in Washington. Nevertheless, the newspaper points out, he has been given by far greater powers than his predecessor. The newspaper LE MONDE writes on the "rise of an ignoramus" whose main merit is that he is the president's personal friend. L'HUMANITE stresses that Clark advocates reactionary policies and is in particular one of those who believe that struggle against Cuba is the paramount objective.

DRA FOREIGN MINISTRY CRITICIZES REAGAN REMARKS

PM051543 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 82 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Threats Rejected"]

[Text] Kabul -- The DRA Foreign Ministry has issued a resolute condemnation of American President R. Reagan's irresponsible remarks about Afghanistan.

No forces in the world and no government, an official Foreign Ministry spokesman told BAKHTAR, are entitled to speak on behalf of the people of free and independent Afghanistan or to impose their diktat on these people. In his recent statements, the U.S. President, he said, has again begun to interfere openly in the DRA's internal affairs. This is not the first time Mr Reagan and his administration have ventured to speak the language of force to the peoples of other countries and to dictate what kind of government they should have.

No plots, slanderous speeches or lying propaganda by U.S. imperialism and the forces of international reaction, no efforts to create obstacles to the DRA's socioeconomic development, nor the creation of training bases for Afghan counterrevolution on the territory of Pakistan, which is the springboard for implementing international imperialism's aggression and military interference in DRA affairs, can deflect the people of free, independent and nonaligned Afghanistan from their chosen path, the DRA Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized in conclusion.

U.S. SEEN SUPPORTING PAKISTANI NUCLEAR PROGRAM

LD051650 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English to Asia 1300 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Excerpts] As it has been reported from well-informed sources, works on developing atomic weapons are nearing completion in Pakistan. Moreover, newspapers have confirmed this. Pakistan has gone so far with its secret nuclear program that it is able to conduct a nuclear explosion already this year, writes the newspaper Washington POST, referring to Western espionage sources. Pakistan, which in this time did not sign the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, launched the implementation of its nuclear program in the mid-seventies.

At the same time, top secret works have been launched in the desert of Cholistan not far from the Indian border. According to the Indian newspaper NATIONAL HERALD, a special tunnel is being built there for an underground explosion of a nuclear device.

If need be, (?should) some special circumstances arise, the test of the first Pakistan atomic bomb may take place in China since Beijing, being Islamabad's ally, was kind enough to offer all sorts of assistance, certainly not disinterested. And at present, the U.S. administration, demonstrating verbally its displeasure with the nuclear work being carried on in Pakistan, is in fact encouraging the Pakistani [word indistinct] militaristic plan. According to available information, the U.S. Government has intentionally concealed from the Congress the information about the preparations for a nuclear bomb test in Pakistan. Thus Senator Cranston declared that this had been done for winning approval of military-economic assistance to Islamabad in the Congress, assistance coming to over $3 billion.

According to the terms of the recently concluded deal, Pakistan is to receive 40 multi-purpose F-16 fighter bombers. The American press has repeatedly noted that F-16s are capable of carrying nuclear weapons on board, so, judging by everything, President Ziaul Haq, who has recently complained about the lack of up-to-date death-dealing weapons delivery vehicles in Pakistan, will be very pleased with the new American planes. However, it is not clear where these planes will be heading for, starting off from the aerodromes which are speedily being built on the territory of Pakistan and for quite understandable reasons this question worries very many people.

Pakistan's atomic bomb poses a real threat to the security of all the neighboring states. The public of these countries cannot be satisfied with Pakistan's recent allegations about its adherence to peace. Despite Pakistan's repeated assurances that it is striving for peace, it is preparing for war, wrote the newspaper INDIAN EXPRESS in this connection.

PDPA POLITBURO APPROVES KARMAL-BREZHNEV MEETING

PM051545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 81 p 1

[Text] Kabul, 28 Dec, TASS -- A session of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee has been held here under the chairmanship of Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council.

The Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee entirely approved the results of B. Karmal's meeting with L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and also the results of B. Karmal's official friendly visit to Bulgaria. The Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee examined the party's general tasks and the plan of work for the coming 3 months and made the requisite decisions.

The Politburo of the Central Committee also decided to begin the campaign to issue party membership and candidate-membership cards on 1 January 1982.

DRA ISSUES APPEAL TO NATIONALITIES, ETHNIC GROUPS

PM061057 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 81 p 1

[Text] Kabul, 21 Dec, TASS -- The BAKHTAR agency has released an appeal by the PDPA Central Committee and the DRA Government to all the nationalities and ethnic groups in Afghanistan.

Thanks to the revolution, especially its latest stage, it states, for the first time in the country's history the political equality of all its ethnic groups has been proclaimed. The April revolution was staged for the sake of the happiness and progress of all of Afghanistan and the good and prosperity of all its population.

Citizens of Afghanistan, the document points out, are equal before the law regardless of nationality, as is enshrined in the country's main legislative document -- the Fundamental Principles of the DRA. This equality is guaranteed by law and protected by the state and no one is allowed to infringe it.

The party and government, the appeal points out, are steadily and consistently implementing democratic land reform, which is being carried out in the interests of the peasants regardless of nationality. The revolution created the prerequisites for the radical improvement of the lives of the millions of Afghan peasants and for the fulfillment of the peasants' age-old dream of justice, equality, land and water for all.

The party and government are taking a whole series of practical steps to improve the material position of the working people, including national minorities.

Workers' wages have been increased, a vast housing construction program is underway, and a great deal of attention is being given to developing public education and health care.

The PDPA Central Committee and the DRA Government appeal to all the country's citizens to take a most active part in strengthening the DRA revolutionary army and to do all they can to help it fulfill its noble mission of defending the fatherland. Peace is needed so all ethnic groups can live and work undisturbed. The party and government called on the representatives of all nationalities to participate more vigorously in labor activity for the good of the motherland.

LIFE OF SOVIET TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN DESCRIBED

PM051633 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Dec 81 p 2

[Special correspondent Col V. Moroz report: "Along the Roads of Courage"]

[Text] Kabul-Moscow -- The day ended with a movie. The screen stretched between poles came alive as soon as dusk fell.

They planned to show two movies to repay a debt to the second battalion. "How's that for you," political worker Maj A. Shumilin whispered, smiling in the dark. "You can say they have not slept for several days but they don't go without their second movie. What character!"

Yes, a familiar trait. Our soldier loves films and he is prepared to sit in front of the television until the evening roll-call. That way he is near Moscow, in the Arctic, and here -- on Afghan soil. Only the atmosphere here is not completely normal. Patrols pass by behind our backs, crunching over the gravel. Missiles periodically take off from the hollow to the left of the open-air club. Sentry posts illuminate the terrain. And further still, where the helicopter pad is located a searchlight shines blue on the mountain slopes. The audience is also unusual.

Somewhere there, in the middle rows lost among his comrades, is Jnr Sgt Imran Abdulvagapov, a tank driver awarded the "For Valor" medal and honorary testimonial of the Komsomol Central Committee for his courage in rendering international aid to the Afghan people. Imran was drafted into the army after graduating from secondary school. He began his service as a gun loader. Studying the equipment, accumulating experience, he replaced first a gun layer and later a tank commander, both of whom had been released into the reserve. The crew, like all the others in the battalion, is multinational. Cpl Vasiliy Tsurkanun, a mechanic and driver, is a Moldavian; fellow Moldavian Yuriy Chixotaru is a gun leader; and Kazakh Cpl Yerzhan Raimbekov is a gunner. Abdulvagapov himself is from Chechen-Ingushetiya. And the commander before him was Jnr Sgt Magomet Salpovarov, from the Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya Autonomous Oblast. Their crew is a small collective, but look how big it is geographically!

Diverse tasks have fallen to the tankmen. They have traveled not hundreds but thousands of kilometers along the twisting mountain roads. They have protected important installations -- communications stations, water supply points and communication lines -- and worked hard with tank-mounted equipment clearing obstructions and sweeping roads. "We have been lucky," Imran said. "In 2 years we have not had a single tank breakdown. And that's not just anywhere, but in the mountains. Others have managed more."

Yes, they have. The mountains test both people and equipment. Political worker Capt Yaroslav Fedak described many of his subordinates' qualities, including their technical acuity and inventiveness. On one occasion the idler wheel was damaged on a tank operating on a patrol. The crew removed it, discarded several links from the caterpillar track and drew it up through a road wheel. Everything was done in a very complex tactical situation. Eventually the vehicle moved forward in the direction it was ordered to take.

In another case the crew drove a vehicle which had lost two road wheels to its designated position. Such is the reserve of reliability in our equipment, such is the moral strength in the people who control it.

Somewhere next to the tankmen Cpl Minzakhir Minnebayev, a motorized infantryman, has taken his seat. What is he thinking about as he looks at the screen where Black Sea sailors are fighting heroically in beleaguered Sevastopol? I remember a talk I had with the soldier. I asked Minzakhir whether he had found time to take a bride. "There was no time," he said with embarrassment. "Evening school took up a great deal of time, then the plant." I asked a further question about his most cherished dream. "I want to be a grade six fitter," the machinegunner said. "So far I'm only grade three...."

Corporal Minnebayev has frequently shown his best side in different situations. I saw the Order of the Red Star on the soldiers' faded tunic. I had heard of the soldier's courage before I visited the regiment. He saved the commander's life while risking his own.

How many soldiers and sergeants similar in courage and staunchness to Imran Abdulvagapov and Minzakhir Minnebayev are watching their second movie in succession this evening. "We have been lucky," Junior Sergeant Abdulvagapov would have said of it. "For many of our fellow servicemen it is a long time since they sat in front of a screen -- either a big one or a small television screen. They are serving far away from the tent city with its comfort, albeit modest comfort."

In the afternoon Aleksandr Pavlovich Shumilin and I toured the installations guarded by our own and Afghan servicemen. At one point we met with Lt Sergey Borisenko, a graduate of the Novosibirsk 60-Letiye Velikogo Oktyabrya Higher Military-Political Combined Arms School. He has been in the DRA since this summer. Borisenko is the only officer at the installation. Snr Lt Kamil Alikberov, the company commander, is on leave and the platoon commanders are serving elsewhere. The young political worker (he jokingly calls himself the garrison chief) has to conduct exercises in all training discipline, ensure regulations order at the posts, organize normal everyday life and brief the latest batch of draftees.

In the room where the motorized riflemen have installed themselves there is a pyramid of submachineguns, machineguns and grenade launchers. Next to them in a nich is an open box containing a photograph. It shows the company commander's 3-year-old son Ruslan. So far Borisenko himself has no family. He merely confided to me the name of his fiancee.

The group has a reserve of food and a mobile field kitchen. With the aid of a radio set operating a listening watch, constant liaison with the regiment is ensured. If you wish you can find out what movie the off-duty officers and soldiers will be watching in the evening. The only thing is, they cannot watch the movie themselves. This has been impossible for several months now.

...The movie ended. The spectators dispersed to their tents rapidly, as though at a signal. Maj Shumilin and I did not hurry. Picking up flashlights, we went to the posts. The talk we had begun during the day was resumed. There were small notes of sadness in the political worker's voice. He would soon have to bid farewell to his fellows in the regiment. Service awaited him in another garrison, also a tent garrison, also in the mountains but... When you part company you always tear away part of your heart. "Wonderful people -- our sons," Aleksandr Pavlovich mused aloud. "They grew up in warmth and comfort, by their television sets so to speak. In school they lived for one concern -- to study. Where was their tempering to come from, you might think? But they do have tempering. A strong tempering of frontline mettle. You can set off on reconnaissance with any of them."

We walk on in silence. At the demand of the sentries we give the password in low voices and receive their vigorous reports, of military terseness. And we are probably thinking the same thing. Soldiers born when the country was celebrating the 15th or 16th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War are standing at the posts. But the memory of the war and pride in that victory are always with them. You ask any one of them: Is it hard? He murmurs tiredly through chapped lips: "Normal. Surely these aren't hardships?" And need it be said by what scale the young soldier measures the hardships and deprivations of service, against whom he tests his will and staunchness? After all, our generation too vied with the frontline men in every respect.

I frequently heard on Afghan soil words about the Soviet soldier's unbending character. That lofty courage was inherent in him we had, of course, always known. Our faith in the strength of his morale and military skill was unshakable. But knowing and believing is one thing and seeing another. Seeing every day and every hour.

In an infantry division of the DRA People's Armed Forces stationed near the Pakistani border I met with Lt Kalamudin Makhamaddzgamal -- assistant chief of the formation's political section for work with young people. The officer joined the army from the third year at the Kabul Polytechnical Institute. He took part in fighting against dushmans and was seriously wounded.

This officer, who has seen and experienced a great deal, described the following episode. During a joint exercise with Soviet servicemen, at some point on the third or fourth day of the march, he was approached by an Afghan soldier. He asked the name of the mountains where the "shuravi" -- the Soviet brothers -- had been born. He, a mountain dweller, was amazed at their endurance. It took a while for the soldier to believe that the majority of Soviet servicemen had first seen mountains here -- in Afghanistan.

But that was the case. Taking part in that march was Jnr Sgt Viktor Rabchinskiy -- commander of a mortar team. He comes from Khmelnitskaya Oblast. Jnr Sgt Stepan Mishohuk grew up near Rovno. Twin brothers Junior Sergeants Petr and Paval Boris were born in the Ternopol region, while Cpl Vladimir Garnik was born in Saratovskaya Oblast. It was not experience, not many years of habit which helped our servicemen. It was a sense of duty which made our young men from Podolye, Polesye and the Volga region tireless.

I should like to highlight in particular one of our soldier's combat morale qualities. That is his boundless faith in the commanders and his love for them. I recall with emotion the sendoff for Lt Col Andrey Donatovich Korsak which I witnessed in one unit. After service in Afghanistan -- fine, valiant service -- the officer was returning home. A new post awaited him. As prescribed he bade farewell to the combat banner and personnel. He sat until deep into the night at the headquarters on the dark blue benches sheltered by mighty eucalyptus trees in a circle of particularly close friends. And before dawn, long before the usual reveille, when the time came to drive to the airfield, he again saw a crowd of people by the vehicle. He did not know how they had found out the time of his departure. But they had found out and had come to hear once more their senior comrade's exhortations. Andrey Donatovich went around them all and shaking their hands, said to each words intended for him alone -- probably the most fitting and needed words, for it was for just this that they loved the officer.

I was already back in Moscow when a letter from a garrison which, unfortunately, I had not managed to visit, caught up with me. Soldiers whose service had come to an end were writing about Lt B. Nametov, commander of the reconnaissance company, a graduate of the Tashkent V.I. Lenin Higher Combined Arms Command School. "When Lieutenant Nametov came to our subunit," I read the painstakingly traced lines, "we already considered ourselves experienced scouts and thought it would be hard for him at first. But on the very first exercise we realized that you could go through fire and water with such a commander. He shoots excellently with all types of weapon and drives no worse than a regular mechanic and driver. He is calm in the most complex situation. We learned later that our commander is a master of sport and has taken part in all-army officers' all-around competitions. A few months passed and the order of the Red Star appeared on the breast of Lt Bakhadir Akhmetniyazovich Nametov. It marked the courage the officer had displayed in rendering fraternal aid to the Afghan people. We are now reserve corporals but we shall always be proud of our service in Afghanistan and of our commander."

Some of the soldiers and sergeants described above have also returned home having fulfilled their duty as internationalists. They will greet the New Year in their family circle. And, of course, they will recall their military service on Afghan soil. It is remembered not only for its harshness, its great physical strains and the selfless brotherhood of servicemen. In Afghanistan the Soviet soldier feels particularly keenly the pulse of history, sees the fierce battle between the new and the old and the all-conquering creative force of revolutionary ideas. He knows how to draw his conclusions. The Soviet serviceman has always been distinguished by his ideological tempering and political maturity.

Photo Features

PM051623 [Editorial Report] The Moscow-published USSR Army paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is continuing to feature photographs of Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan.

The issue for 29 December 1981 has a frontpage photograph of Guards Capt S. Kostin cradling a submachinegun and grinning broadly. The picture is accompanied by the following caption: "The servicemen of the paratroop company commanded by Communist Party member and holder of the Order of the Red Star, Guards Capt Sergey Kostin, are honorably fulfilling their international duty. The guards servicemen have an excellent mastery of their modern hardware and weapons and know how to use them effectively. During the last tactical exercise the paratroopers displayed great field skill, physical fitness and endurance in a complex situation."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA for 1 January 1982 carries on page 2 a photo of a trio of smiling servicemen holding letters. They are identified as Capt V. Ostrovoy, Sr Lt N. Konyushka and Sr Lt S. Kozhukhar, "a helicopter crew that has been awarded the title of excellent." The caption reads:

"On the table in the headquarters trailer where the helicopter crews receive their combat training missions there is a large map. Brown is the predominant color on it. The airfield is surrounded by mountains. There are many marks and explanatory legends on the map. It shows points where the crews, fulfilling their international duty, have delivered cargo that their Afghan friends needed. A considerable quantity has been moved into the ravines where the mountain villages are to be found.

"Every flying day is difficult and intensive. And news from home, from the motherland, always cheers and brings joy. It is traditional for all the crew to read letters. So on this occasion everyone is listening to the warm words and wishes for success from Nina, Capt Vladimir Ostrovoy's wife. On the envelope are drawings done by Sasha, the crew commander's son. His daughter Tanya has had a hand in the letter too."

AFGHANS DETERMINED TO DEFEND APRIL REVOLUTION

PM051615 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Dec 81 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent M. Rostarchuk "Letter From Afghanistan": "Wind of Great Change"]

[Text] Kabul -- This year December in Afghanistan has been unusually sunny, bright and warm. In the blue, transparent sky, against the background of the snowy mountains, the republic's flag flutters proudly above the capital's fortress palace, the Arg, headquarters of the Revolutionary Council.

A tank stands on a pedestal in the square in front of the fortress. This eternal vigil is carried out by the combat vehicle of Maj Aslam Watanjar, now a Politburo member of the PDPA Central Committee and minister of communications. In April 1978 this tank was the first to storm the citadel of the bourgeois landowning state -- the Defense Ministry and Arg fortress. Today, when the question of defending the Afghan revolution against internal and foreign reaction remains acute, this tank in the square is seen not as a historical relic, but as a symbol of the people's determination to defend their gains, for the sake of which thousands of patriots have given their lives.

...Asad is only 13. Like many Afghans he has no surname, but he does have a nickname. He chose it himself -- Sangar, which means "barricade." Asad has every right to call himself a barricade -- a barricade of the revolution.

Asad is the eldest of the four children of a landless peasant from the district of Chahar Bulaq in Balkh Province. After the revolution the family received a parcel of land from the estate of the landowner Kayumbay, who fled and knocked together a gang of cutthroats. At first the dushmans tried to persuade the head of the family to cooperate with them. When he rebuffed them firmly, they decided to kill him. The father struck down three bandits with a spade, but then died before the eyes of Asad, who was taken away by the bandits.

The boy managed to escape from captivity. True, they pursued him and wounded him in the leg, but he escaped. Asad was treated at a hospital and sent to Kabul, to a children's home. Talking to the boy, I discovered that his strongest desire is to join the ranks of those who are fighting against the bandit scum.

"We have one main task -- to defend the revolution," Afghans say today.

The fact that the main task today is still to defend the revolution's gains and ensure peace on Afghan soil and the working people's security was the starting point in my talk with Nur Ammad Nur, an active participant in the April Revolution, PDPA veteran, Politburo member of the PDPA Central Committee and Central Committee secretary.

He told me that he had returned the other day from a major tour of the country in the course of which he met with many people -- party activists, workers, peasants, clergymen, craftsmen and merchants. And his impressions from the talks he had during these meetings can be summed up, certainly, as optimism and faith in the future.

Thus as a result of day-to-day work by the PDPA and the DRA Government a steady process of strengthening the revolutionary self-awareness of the broad masses of the Afghan people is underway in the country. And this is taking place in the conditions of the undeclared war being waged against Afghanistan by foreign and internal reaction, in conditions where, in a frenzied rage, the hirelings of the "has-beens" -- feudalists, landowners, royalist officers, big merchants, usurers -- are continuing the bloodshed on Afghan soil. In this connection I would like to cite just one figure which characterizes relatively eloquently the counterrevolutionary obscurantists. They have set fire to, blown up and destroyed about 80 percent of all the schools in the country!

The truth about the Afghan revolution today was clearly formulated in the speech by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, at the recent seventh plenum of the party's Central Committee: "The experience of our work and struggle proves quite clearly that the revolutionary process in Afghanistan is continuing to gain strength.... The revolution's social base is growing and widening."

In his report Comrade B. Karmal cited figures testifying to the growth in the prestige of the PDPA and the government. In the first 6 months of this year (it began 21 March 1981 by the Afghan calendar) about 10,000 candidates have become PDPA members. Some 40 percent of them are workers, craftsmen and peasants, and in provinces where there is developed agriculture or industry this figure is 75 percent.

The struggle against the counterrevolution, its complete eradication and the resolution of the urgent socioeconomic problems facing the country demand a significant strengthening of organizational work within the party and increased activity by PDPA members working in the state apparatus, the army, subunits of the (tsarandoy) (public order service) and mass public organizations. Therefore, Comrade Nur told me, the Politburo and Comrade B. Karmal has set two tasks as the most important for party members: first, to strengthen unity and cohesion in the party itself, and second, to develop propaganda work in every way among the masses, in their very midst, with a view to ensuring their political awakening and mobilization and the rallying of all strata of Afghan society in the struggle against domestic and foreign reaction.

We party workers, Comrade Nur stresses, must give new impetus to the activity of trade unions, youth and women's organizations and representatives of all strata of society belonging to the National Fatherland Front, and thereby channel these social forces into spurring on literally all the people to resolve the exceptionally difficult tasks which face the country.

Much has already been done and is being done in this direction. One recalls the organizational conference -- exceptional for its revolutionary fervor -- of the mass patriotic organization which unites all strata of Afghan society -- the National Fatherland Front -- in Herat, the second most important city. From its platform not only party activists, workers and peasants, but also merchants and mullahs spoke of their resolute support for the aims and tasks of the Afghan revolution and their approval and support for the PDPA's policy and the DRA Governemnt's practical activity.

I also recall meetings with workers harvesting oranges on state farms in the Jalalabad irrigation complex. While they worked in the orchards their comrades bore arms to protect the farms and the complex's installations.

"The dushmans are still trying to collect 'taxes' from us and hinder our work on the state farms, setting fire to schools and dealing with party activists," I was told by farm workers Kjadzhi Mirzaman and Muhammad Khakim. "But the people are rebuffing them more and more resolutely. This is our land and our resolution, and we will defend it!"

Nor will I forget a recent meeting at the directorate of the security service (KHAD) in the city of Qonduz. I was introduced to 20-year-old Muhammad. One of his older brothers is second secretary of the provincial party committee. The second brother was deputy chief of the KHAD and was killed by the dushmans. Muhammad came to replace him and has already taken part a number of times in combat operations, often risking his life.

The wind of great revolutionary change is dispersing the black clouds of obscurantism and the poisonous mists of centuries-old prejudice over Afghanistan and blowing away like ashes the threadbare canons according to which the rich and highborn were allegedly given power and strength forever.

The first peasant cooperatives, the first machine and tractor stations, the first pioneer camps and the first sanatoriums for workers and peasants have already appeared in this ancient land. The army and the (tsarandoy) are changing, and the party is sending political workers to them. In many villages and districts the dushmans are already afraid to show their faces. The force of those who dedicated themselves to the revolution long ago and of those who have only recently accepted it and are prepared to defend it is becoming increasingly tangible in the country....

A fresh wind rustles the national flag over the Arg fortress palace. The sun of freedom has risen over Afghanistan and it cannot be extinguished.

USSR AIDING DRA IN ENERGY PRODUCTION, PROSPECTING

LD061104 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 6 Jan 82

[Text] The power plants built in Afghanistan with Soviet assistance account for half of all the electricity generated in the counrty. This has been disclosed by a representative of the Soviet Union's government committee for economic contacts with other countries.

Soviet specialists also help Afghanistan in prospecting for oil and gas. Soviet-Afghan cooperation is mutually advantageous. The gas fields developed with the help of the Soviet Union not only satisfy the country's own requirements in gas, but also make it possible to ship it to the USSR.

POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT USSR IN JANUARY

LD051608 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, PZPR Central Committee secretary and minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, will pay a visit to the Soviet Union during the first half of January 1982.

TASS CRITICIZES JAN EEC COMMUNIQUE ON POLAND

LD051802 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 5 Jan 82

["About the EEC Meeting in Brussels" -- TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline received] A meeting of the foreign ministers of the Western European countries comprising the European Economic Community (EEC), the so-called "Ten," took place in Brussels on 4 January. The ministers published a communique, the theme of which is Poland's internal political problems.

The representatives of the EEC countries have taken the liberty of stating that they "resolutely disapprove of the development of the situation in Poland." Moreover, they have addressed instructions to the Polish authorities on how they should conduct affairs in their own house, in Poland.

If one peels away the hypocritical cover from that unsolicited "advice," the essence of this advice boils down to the following: granting freedom of action to those who attempted with all means available to plunge Poland into economic collapse and chaos, and to those who pursued with the support of certain circles in the West a course toward undermining the Polish socialist state. Thus, external attempts to unceremoniously interfer in Poland's internal life are again being felt. In this respect echoes of the crude attacks addressed to Poland and other socialist states which are constantly being heard from across the ocean are being manifestly heard in the statement of the "Ten."

What attracts attention is that the authors of the communique are, to put it mildly, taking great liberties in their treatment of the Helsinki Final Act in accusing the Polish authorities of violating it. In fact, it is precisely those who have taken the road of interference in the affairs which are exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Polish state itself -- and of it alone -- who are violating the Final Act.

The above-mentioned communique of the "Ten," other statements and also the practical actions taken by some Western countries are in striking contradiction with the principles of interrelations contained in the Final Act which demand respect for the sovereign rights of each member-state, its laws and administrative rules and which order that one should refrain from any intervention in internal affairs.

The text of the communique also contains in some places hidden and in other places veiled threats and "warnings" with regard to Poland and its allies, although it would seem that it should be clear that such language is inappropriate for talking with the socialist countries. There is also a noticeable striving to deliberately dramatize -- under the pretext of the internal Polish events -- the present international situation. This is another of the unseemly devices for putting pressure on the socialist community, one of the methods for artificially whipping up international tension.

The "Ten" stated that they "take note of the economic measures adopted by the U.S. Government with regard to the USSR." Judging by everything, it is evident that the understanding, widely spread in Western Europe, that the preservation of cooperation with the socialist states, including economic cooperation, is important for the West European countries' own long-term interests.

As experience shows, concern for the peaceful future of Europe, for good-neighborly cooperation on our continent, should be the common concern of all Europeans. No one should forget this.

TOLKUNOV PRAVDA DISPATCH ON U.S. SANCTIONS

PM051533 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jan 82

[Correspondent A. Tolkunov dispatch: "Shortsighted Policy"]

[Text] New York, 1 Jan -- As the Washington POST reports, a few days before sanctions against our country were announced, a memorandum compiled by the staff of Secretary of State A. Haig landed on his desk. In it they urged their boss to dissuade the President from "making concrete threats" against the Soviet Union as this would "very quickly involve the United States in unilateral actions which would put us on the defensive and set us at loggerheads with our allies."

Nevertheless, the hotheads have gained the upper hand in official Washington for the umteenth time. On the afternoon of 28 December presidential adviser E. Meese dictated over the phone to R. Reagan, who was on his California ranch, a list of "retaliatory measures" hastily proposed by the National Security Council. The President approved them equally hastily the next day.

It is clear now how right the compilers of the aforesaid memorandum were. The American administration has completely exposed itself by the step that it has taken. For now the whole world, including the U.S. allies, has seen for itself how, by unconstrainedly speculating on the events in Poland, official Washington opposes the normalization of the situation in that country.

In Washington M. Meyerson, executive director of the U.S. Peace Council, told your correspondent in an interview that he was hoping for the victory in Poland of the counterrevolution which it [as published] was backing. That did not happen. Now it is once again bursting to go into action and thirsting for "revenge." But what sort of "revenge" is it when Washington's sanctions are directed precisely against the Polish people? When, by sharply exacerbating relations with the Soviet Union, Reagan is once again whipping up the arms race and bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war?

This latest provocative action, Meyerson said in conclusion, is also aimed at diverting attention from the deepening economic crisis in our own country, mass unemployment, inflation and the ruthless cutting of social programs.

CBS-TV news featured a report from the Caterpillar Tractor Company plant which was to have produced the 200 pipe layers whose delivery to our country has been banned by the administration. The workers were not in a cheerful mood on the eve of the new year. Some 135 of their comrades had just been fired.

I rang Peoria, Illinois, where Caterpillar's headquarters is situated. Company spokesman Steve Newhouse, who is in charge of public and press relations, came to the phone. "Indeed," he said, "it has been calculated that the cancellation of this contract will result in fewer jobs. We regret the administration's decision. Alas, our competitors will once again leave us behind."

Yes, what Newhouse says is old hat for business America. The president of the Armco Steel Corporation now recalls how his company together with Nippon Steel, after 4 years of negotiations and in a fierce struggle with firms of other countries, won contracts with the USSR to the value of $353 million. Under the farfetched pretext of the events in Afghanistan the previous administration banned the implementation of that deal. And what happened? A few months later the Soviet trade organizations concluded such a contract with a French firm.

Sober-minded Americans and representatives of the scientific world are also sharply critical of the administration's decision not to extend bilateral agreements, including agreements in the spheres of scientific exchange, ocean exploration, energy reserves and so forth.

The White House does not feel like resolving these problems today. Their next "step" is already being discussed openly in Washington. "As well-informed sources report," the Washington POST writes, "the talks on strategic arms planned to start this spring may also be delayed because of the events in Poland."

This action of the White House and the backstage fuss over it also constitute unconcealed disregard for the interests of its own allies and the aspirations of millions of West Europeans. A number of commentators write of Washington's direct blackmail of West European governments: either you support these sanctions or we will take further action -- we will end the Geneva talks on the limitation of nuclear capabilities in Europe.

However, as the New York TIMES admits, even the highest echelons of power in Washington now doubt that, despite the "arm-twisting diplomacy" now being pursued by the Americans, the West Europeans and Japanese will agree to support these "undertakings," which another newspaper -- the Washington POST -- calls "a hasty and precipitative venture." "Not one of the NATO countries," the New York TIMES writes skeptically, "has subscribed to the sanctions."

But, despite the manifest failure of "collective sanctions," anti-Soviet, anti-Polish mentality continues to reign in official Washington these days. Administration officials are foaming at the mouth in their attempts to "explain" the need for the actions taken and are hinting at further steps. D. Moynihan, the well-known reactionary Senator for New York, is fulminating, demanding the imposition of "absolute sanctions" against the USSR, the raising of the Polish question at the UN Security Council and, if no "censure resolution" suitable to the United States is adopted, [U.S.] withdrawal from the United Nations.

Anticommunist and anti-Soviet hysteria has now reached an unprecedented pitch in Washington. All this is placing the United States, as some State Department employees warned their boss, "on the defensive and making it fall out with its allies."

U.S. SEEKS NATO-WARSAW PACT CONFRONTATION

LD041434 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Excerpt] Washington, 4 Jan, TASS -- The White House and the Department of State would not give up their attempts to induce Washington's allies to support the discriminatory measures taken by the Reagan administration against the USSR and Poland unilaterally without any advance consultations with the U.S. allies. This is the main objective of the efforts of the U.S. diplomatic community, which, in the teeth of common sense, is trying to use the events in Poland to inflame confrontation not only between the United States and the USSR but also between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

It is with this aim in view that a meeting of the foreign ministers of the NATO countries is convened on Washington's initiative in the middle of January.

Washington would like to heat up the situation to the boiling point, using for the purpose Reagan's groundless allegations that the Soviet Union is involved in the events in Poland. In so doing the U.S. administration completely ignores facts, which convincingly show that the events in Poland are an internal affair of the Polish state.

Having taken its anti-Soviet step, the Reagan administration risks to find itself and its discriminatory measures in a quandary similar to that in which the Carter administration found itself at the time it tried to organize a boycott of the Olympic Games and to introduce sanctions against Iran.

Bonn, 4 Jan, TASS -- Reagan's statement on discriminatory measures against the USSR is viewed in West Germany on the whole as poorly-thought-out. Kurt Becker, an official spokesman for the West German Government, said at a press conference here: "We do not share the opinion that the Soviet Union initiated the imposition of martial law in Poland." The West German Government, he went on, intends to continue its policy of strict non-intervention in the Polish affairs. It views the American sanctions against the USSR as a unilateral measure of the United States, which calls for consultations in NATO.

Answering questions from journalists, Kurt Becker stressed: "We think that the decision on the imposition of martial law in Poland has been taken by the Polish side autonomously."

U.S., WESTERN 'INTERFERENCE' IN POLAND SCORED

Foreign Media Criticism

PM051355 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 81 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS roundup: "Against Flagrant Interference"]

[Excerpt] Noting that the introduction of martial law in Poland has helped to normalize the situation in that country, the foreign press sharply criticizes the flagrant U.S. interference in the internal affairs of socialist Poland and Washington's attempts to "link" the Polish events with the prospects for American-Soviet relations. It is noted in this connection that the measures declared by R. Reagan to restrict trade and economic ties between the United States and the USSR constitute a clumsy attempt by Washington to exploit the situation in Poland as a pretext for further complicating international tension and undermining detente in Europe, justifying the arms race and returning to the times of the cold war.

In the international chorus of reactions to the events in Poland, the majority of which are distinguished by understanding for the vital necessity of the measures taken by the Military Council for National Salvation, R. Reagan's declarations are sharply discordant, a commentary by the Polish agency PAP says. Both the form and tone of these statements are striking, abounding as they do with insulting epithets, slander and abuse at gutter press level against the Polish leadership. The reasons for the U.S. administration head's irritation lies in the fact that Poland remains in the family of socialist states. Not only is the U.S. President one-sidedly informed about the situation in Poland, there is also a one-sided orientation in the reaction of the Western world to the events in Poland. It is not easy to understand by what right he predetermines the West's position, although he can speak on behalf of his own country alone. It looks as if President Reagan is seeking new pretexts to deviate from the path of international dialogue. And Poland has become just such a pretext for him today.

A commentary by the Czechoslovak agency CTK notes: Reagan's attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union "participation in the declaration of martial law in Poland" are completely unfounded and therefore the measures declared by him to restrict trade and economic ties with the USSR are an unprecedented violation of international law and a flagrant attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. An initial analysis of Reagan's "measures" shows that the American President is pursuing a number of objectives by this step. Primarily he wants to aggravate the international situation still further and undermine detente. The poisoning of the international atmosphere, according to Reagan's plans, is designed to conceal Washington's hegemonist plans and its desire to become world policeman once more.

The White House is obviously worried that Poland is solving its problems itself. With the help of anti-Soviet hysteria it is trying to mask the overt U.S. interference in other countries' internal affairs. The fanning of anti-Soviet hysteria is aimed also at deceiving the American people in order to impose a new arms race funding burden on them. The Reagan "measures" are at the same time a manifestation of pressure on the United States' West European allies and Japan, who reject Washington's dangerous course toward confrontation. By his anti-Soviet decisions the White House incumbent has once again demonstrated the absence of a realistic view of the correlation of forces in the world. His policy is short-sighted and dangerous since it is leading to a serious deterioration in the international situation.

"A provocative act with a view to aggravating international tension still further and activating a policy of confrontation," is how West Berlin's DIE WAHRHEIT describes the discriminatory measure declared by Reagan against Poland and the Soviet Union. However, the governments of the West European countries are in no hurry to follow Washington. The latest example of this is their refusal to hold a meeting of EEC foreign ministers, which was to meet in London to discuss the "Polish question." The newspaper draws the conclusion that one of the reasons for the feverish and completely unfounded actions of the American administration is the "failure of its far-reaching plans vis-a-vis Poland." The course of events shows that the American policy of interference in Poland's internal affairs can under no circumstances help to ensure political stability on the European Continent.

At a time when the situation in Poland is being normalized the U.S. President is using the events in Poland to renew the cold war, France's L'HUMANITE points out, commenting on the decisions announced by the U.S. administration on "sanctions" against Poland and the Soviet Union. Such actions by Washington are a serious step along the path of aggravating the international situation. The events in Poland have become a pretext for justifying the arms race and the antisocial policy being pursued by the American administration in its own country.

U.S. 'Duplicity, Hypocrisy'

LD061052 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 6 Jan 82

["USA: Food and Blackmail" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan, TASS -- The Soviet EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA has described today the attitude of the U.S. administration to the current events in Poland as "another example of duplicity and hypocrisy."

The weekly recalls that in August 1980, when counterrevolution raised its head in Poland, the U.S. administration all of a sudden got consumed with love for the Polish people, urged its allies to give credits to Poland, sell grain and necessaries, advocated non-interference in that country's home affairs. But when Poland's legitimate government decided to curb the counterrevolution, and the process of normalization started in that country, the President of the United States ordered to halt the sale of food to Poland and suspend the agreements concluded earlier.

The Polish press, the EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA points out, has justly evaluated the provocative actions by the U.S. administration as crude interference in the home affairs of that sovereign state.

The newspaper recalls in this connection that in the past too the USA used food as a tool of blackmail and pressure when striving to establish domination in some or other country. When, for example, Arbenz Guzman, a candidate of the Revolutionary Action Party, scored a victory at the elections of 1951 in Guatemala and his government carried out a number of progressive reforms, the American imperialists started a food blockade of that country, halted the delivery of food which had been paid for.

After the Cuban people headed by Fidel Castro overthrew the fascist Batista dictatorship, the USA staked on stifling that country with hunger. Washington answered the coming to power in Chile of the popular unity bloc, the democratic reforms in Iran and Nicaragua by termination [of] food supplies.

"Unconditional support for the foreign policy of the U.S. administration and ensuring access for the Pentagon to the territories of foreign countries for the deployment of military bases there are regarded as the strings attached to economic aid, including the sale of farm produce. In so doing, U.S. imperialism presses on its partners in NATO and in other military alliances that they bring pressure to bear on the countries which do not agree with its policy," the Soviet weekly stresses.

APN: Katin Commentary

LD051032 Hamburg DPA in German 0935 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Berlin, 5 Jan (DPA) -- The American measures in reaction to the events in Poland are seen by the official Soviet news agency NOVOSTI [APN] as an unmistakable sign of Washington's efforts to make the Polish events an excuse to return the European Continent to the times of the cold war. In a commentary by its political observer Vladimir Katin published in Berlin on Tuesday the agency writes that, with the demand that the NATO allies apply the same sanctions to Poland and the Soviet Union, the United States wanted to undermine all areas of cooperation between the West and Eastern Europe and "once again bury" detente.

The agency remarks that it is "a real possibility that tomorrow the United States will apply sanctions to those countries in Western Europe which do not support its crusade against Poland. One can expect anything of the present U.S. administration, which has taken the path of international despotism. If, however, in the Soviet capital the international situation was not being dramatized, then this was because it was being assumed that each country was drawing its own conclusions, giving due consideration to its own interests.

Europe 'Need Not Follow U.S.'

PM051649 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 81 Morning Edition p 4

[L. Stepanov dispatch: "Chancellor's Statement"]

[Text] Vienna -- Many politicians in West European countries are voicing a negative attitude to the hysterical campaign being pursued by Washington in recent weeks. In an interview with the newspaper DIE PRESSE Austrian Federal Chancellor B. Kreisky remarked that there is no need "to follow every signal from the United States." Western Europe, he said, must pursue "a more circumspect and differentiated policy" vis-a-vis Poland. It is noteworthy that the most malicious utterances by U.S. leaders against Poland are not being printed by even the reactionary gutter press.

Western Radios Mourn 'Failure'

PM060955 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Capt V. Nikanorov under the rubric "Pertinent Remarks": "For Whom They Are Mourning"]

[Text] For a third week the airwaves have been filled with discordant wailing.

The Western radio stations are loudly bemoaning the failure of the schemes of the anti-socialist forces in Poland. In this respect there is no lack of slanderous fabrications concerning the Polish people's decision to put their own house in order.

But lies are short lived. Life repeatedly proves this. Recently, for example, as the Austrian newspaper VOLKSSTIMME attests, a local radio journalist tried to extract from a Red Cross worker invited to the studio who had recently been to Poland some kind of information on "disguised Soviet soldiers" allegedly participating in Polish events. Unable to say anything on that score, the journalist's interlocutor remarked that he observed signs of normal life in Poland.

Foreign "well-wishers," grieving over the measures adopted to restore legality in the country, are hypocritically pitying the Poles, who are allegedly being subjected to terrible repression by the Army. Britain's BBC, "for humanitarian reasons," of course, even ventured recently to interfere in the sovereign state's internal affairs by appealing to Polish soldiers. Reporting this, the Polish newspaper WIADOMOSCI SZCZECINSKIE adds, not without some irony, that it is hard to recall an occasion when the BBC appealed to the British soldiers committing outrages in Ulster not to fire on their own brothers.

It is highly noteworthy that quite recently Solidarity's extremist leaders were also preparing actively for the role of uninvited advisers to Polish soldiers. Documents discovered at Solidarity "headquarters" after the introduction of martial law are explicit evidence of this. Here is what was said, for example, in an instruction concerning subversive activity within the Polish Army: "Soldiers must remove their commanders; Solidarity insignia must appear on uniforms, combat equipment and at barracks.... At the first opportunity soldiers with their weapons in hand are to desert their units and go to the nearest Solidarity organizations."

Why was all this necessary? An answer to this question can also be found in the unearthed Solidarity documents which convincingly expose the actual intentions of that trade union association's ringleaders. Counting on seizing power in the country, they were planning harsh reprisals against communists and all true Polish patriots. The counterrevolutionaries were preparing to physically eliminate about 80,000 PZPR members. Groups of militants had been organized and arms dumps set up for this purpose.

And now that these bloodthirsty plans have been thwarted, the chorus of hired mourners has firmly installed itself in front of the Western radio station's microphones. Ostentatiously shedding tears over the unmasked and neutralized counterrevolutionaries, they continue to cherish dreams of again destabilizing the situation in Poland and kindling the flames of new conflicts. By this path certain Western circles are hoping to tear that country from the socialist community and from the ranks of the Warsaw Pact states' combat alliance. But these schemes are destined not to be realized.

West's Anti-Polish Activities

LD021118 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] HORIZONT, the GDR Foreign affairs weekly, has published an article exposing the intrigues of imperialism and its tools, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the West German Bundesnachrichtendienst, against socialism and the lawful authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The journal cites specific evidence of the subversive activities of these organizations. It gives the names, codenames and addresses of their most active accomplices and secret centers in West Germany, Latin America, the United States, Italy and Britain. The CIA branches in Bavaria and its instigatory mouthpiece in Munich, Radio Free Europe, have been playing a special role in subversive activity against the Polish People's Republic. The article makes its plain that subversive organizations in the West had plans for hostile activity against the Polish People's Republic back in the 1970s.

Falin on Interference

LD311436 Hamburg DPA in Cerman 1314 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 31 Dec (DPA) -- The former Soviet ambassador to Bonn, Valentin Falin, has rejected the accusation of Soviet interference in Poland, and, in turn, accused the West of interference.

Falin, now deputy chief of the International Affairs Department of the CPSU Central Committee, stated in an article for the Soviet press agency NOVOSTI that there exist "numerous facts of direct interference in the internal affairs" of the country. These include radio broadcasts which "attempt to influence" the Polish population "and incite the youth to disobedience toward the authorities." The only Soviet "interference" in Poland consists of the delivery of vital raw materials without which the Polish economy would be paralyzed within 2 days.

The figure of 5,000 internees is, in Falin's view, "anything other than a large number in view of the enormous havoc of anarchy and counterrevolution, in view of the anti-government drive." Of course, it is to be regretted that "some people," who number no more than 10, have died. The responsibility for this is borne solely by the "terrorists from the camp of counterrevolution."

West's Activities Criticized

LD312342 Moscow in Polish to Poland 1800 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Yuriy Borisov commentary]

[Text] As the situation in Poland returns to normal, the anti-Polish campaign carried out by imperialist circles in the West is becoming more irritating and is intensifying. The blow dealt to counterrevolution, aimed at creating conditions to lead the country out of the crisis, as well as the defense of legality and the restoration of social order have evoked a paroxysm of veritable hysteria in those circles. However, one should not be surprised by this. After all, it is known that in the West, and above all in the United States, it was hoped that the subversive activities of the Solidarity extremists would bring about the liquidation of the socialist system in Poland and the severance of Poland from the Warsaw Pact.

Now the bourgeois mass media shed crocodile tears in connection with the measures undertaken in Poland against the counterrevolution. As the British newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES writes, those measures have had terrible results for the West. This is true. The now revealed plans of extremists, financed by Western subversive services, to carry out a coup in Poland and unleash a civil war have dismally failed.

It is characteristic that a particularly malicious reaction to the latest events in Poland can be observed among the extreme rightwing in Western circles. The leaders of the U.S. administration have set the tune for that campaign. U.S. President Ronald Reagan's declarations are imbued with perfidy, as are those of other members of the U.S. Government. They are allegedly anxious about the fate of Polish workers and their trade unions. Who will believe this? After all, they are applying drastic fines and repressions to the trade union movement in their own country. The U.S. air traffic controllers union was simply disbanded [as heard] recently on the demand of the U.S. Government. Neither can it be seen that America's unemployed are the object of Washington's concern, and there are 8 million of them now in the United States. Has Reagan's government done anything to reduce that gigantic army of unwanted people or, at least, to improve their social welfare? Not at all. Moreover, the U.S. President ordered budget cuts for dozens of social programs -- a heavy blow for working people -- in order to acquire billions for the arms race.

The American administration cares not a whit about the fate of Polish workers. What annoys it is the fact that the counterrevolution in Poland is meeting with a debacle; that an important step was taken there to overcome chaos and anarchy, to restore order and legality. Washington is also trying to enmesh its NATO allies in the anti-Polish campaign. But to be fair, one should note that these demands from the American administration have been received unenthusiastically by most Western capitals.

However, Strauss and some other leaders of the reactionary CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] have hastily joined that campaign. The Lower Saxony Land premier, Albrecht, of the CDU, demanded the introduction of economic sanctions against Poland if its leadership will not obey the West's dictat. This is the same Albrecht whose government has for many years been extending its patronage over one of the most militant revanchist organizations, the regional Association of Silesian Germans, giving it large financial and moral support.

The association's boss, CDU Bundestag Deputy Hupka, openly puts forward brazen territorial demands to Poland, above all for Silesia, rich in coal.

Arrogantly dismissing elementary norms of interstate relations as well as the norms of sovereignty, imperialist forces are now openly interfering in Poland's internal affairs in order to change the course of events there. Psychological warfare against socialist Poland has developed on a full scale. The American subversive radio station Radio Free Europe is in a particular fury, constantly goading the Poles to continue confrontation and to oppose the authorities and instructing them on how strikes and sabotage should be organized.

However, there is no doubt that all attempts at interfering in Poland's internal affairs and applying methods of blackmail and pressure are doomed to failure. The Polish nation alone has the sovereign right to shape its internal affairs in the way it considers necessary. As an equal member of the socialist community, Poland can always rely on the help and support of her fraternal neighbors.

FURTHER REPORTS ON CURRENT POLISH SITUATION

'Class, Political Struggle'

LD051604 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jan (TASS) -- A meeting has taken place here between the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, W. Jaruzelski, and the ambassadors of the Warsaw Pact countries. The further development of all-round cooperation was discussed in a friendly atmosphere. W. Jaruzelski told the ambassadors of the problems being met with in Poland's social and economic life.

W. Jaruzelski also received a number of diplomats from West European countries. He drew attention to the need to develop economic and trading links between the East and the West in order to strengthen peace on the continent. Poland, he said, will remain a conscientious partner in international economic relations, and will continue the contribution it makes to detente and peace.

According to the Polish press agency, a Sociopolitical Committee has been established at the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers. It is to cooperate with the government in solving the fundamental economic and sociopolitical problems which face the country. The first session of this committee has taken place and its tasks have been determined.

The mass media of the Polish People's Republic are reporting on the organized beginning of the first working week of the new year everywhere. It is noted that work has been resumed at the Lenin Shipyard and also at other shipyards in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin. Workers at the blast furnaces and in the coking shops and rolling mill workers at the Lenin Metallurgical Combine have fulfilled their daily production tasks. The combine produced 4,500 tons of steel in 1 day. The people of Warsaw began their working week in an organized fashion.

Plenums have been held at a number of voivodship committees which stressed the need to raise the responsibility of communists for the further normalization of the situation, thoroughly check the ideological positions of each party member, and step up their influence on production discipline and public order. An acute class, political struggle against antisocialist opposition is necessary, a commentary in TRYBUNA LUDU stresses, and it is important to deprive it of the opportunity to exert influence on a certain section of society. It should be plainly stated, the organ of the PZPR Central Committee notes, that antisocialist opposition exists and is operating in the country. The time has come to take up the struggle against all manifestations of anticonstitutional activity and against the bearers of Polish nationalism of various orientations, as well as of reformism which is undermining the foundations of socialism.

PAP reports that in some voivodships, people found guilty of infringements of the martial law regulations have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The press, radio and television are informing the Polish public about new attempts by the West to interfere in Polish events. It is reported that the situation in Poland was discussed at a meeting of EEC foreign ministers. It has been noted that there has been a negative reaction in international political and business circles to the provocative actions carried out by the Reagan administration, aimed at preventing the overcoming of the crisis in Poland, and at dictating to the Poles the way they should rule their own country.

The Polish press reminds its readers that the crisis itself was blown up and intesified with the active cooperation of foreign reaction and subversive centers. SZTANDAR LUDU writes in particular that no one in the West sent presents of expensive printing machinery and radio and television apparatus to Solidarity from the kindness of their hearts. Those who gave aimed at changing the international balance of forces. They are interested least of all in the well-being of the Poles.

PRAVDA on Poland

LD060042 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2225 GMT 5 Jan 82

["Text" of Oleg Losoto report from Warsaw published in PRAVDA: "The Polish People's Republic: The Beginning of the Year"]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS) -- "Not a Day Is To Be Lost," "We Are Changing the Balance of Difficulties to a Balance of Achievements," "All Efforts for the Benefit of the Homeland" -- these are the headlines of articles published in the Warsaw papers in the first days of the new year. They speak for themselves. The attention of the public and the labor collectives is concentrated on such important matters as the most rapid restoration of the country's labor pulse, the raising of its economy, and improving supplies of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the population.

At a press conference for foreign journalists, a government spokesman said that 29 December last year was the first day for many months with no strikes. The works and factories, mines and ports are now working without interruption.

In an organized manner, with the understanding by the majority of people of the responsibility which now lies on each labor collective for the country's future, the Warszawa high-grade steel works began work in the new year. The metallurgists are successfully fulfilling their daily tasks.

Good news about the start of the new labor year has come from the metallurgical combine near Krakow, from the republic's railway, power engineering and port workers. Miners at Belchaton have been working in a determined manner, laying in stocks of brown coal for the local power station.

A momentous event took place here at the end of last year -- the electricity produced by the first set of generators at the Belchatow power station was fed into the country's electricity grid. Thus, the collective in the Belchatow industrial region successfully completed many months of effort. At the local power station 12 such generating units with a capacity of 360 megawatts each will operate.

The first results of the work in the sugar industry have been summed up. Over 1.65 million tons of sugar have been produced. It is envisaged that by the end of the sugar-refining season about another 50,000 tons will be produced. Such a quantity of sugar will satisfy domestic market needs and will provide the necessary stocks for the food industry.

These are some of the facts in the economic field. After many months of disorder and stoppages they, of course, instill one with certain hope. However, one should not overestimate them yet. Workers, party activists, representatives of the intelligentsia, whom we met these days while assessing optimistically the development of the situation in the country say that the year will not be an easy but a difficult one. And one can only agree with this forecast. There are many acute problems on the agenda. Enormous effort is required in order to overcome the present difficulties. The growing realization of the truth that only through persistent and conscientious work can one overcome the crisis is reassuring.

TRYBUNA LUDU says: "The reports from various enterprises over the past few days contain some optimism. After the ending of the wave of seditious activity [smutyanstvo] which resulted in strikes, disorder, and tension which were destroying the national economy, we are now able to produce more and to work more efficiently." The paper notes that specifically this is expressed in the need of not only achieving the former production level but of securing a growth which will be able to satisfy the present needs of society. This also means a need for the strengthening of the economic foundation, the restoration of the disrupted cooperation ties, the "tuning up" of the deranged systems of the economic mechanism.

The decisive thing here is labor, stresses TRYBUNA LUDU, uninterrupted, productive labor. The raising of its efficiency must be facilitated by elements of economic reform which it will be possible to introduce in the near future. They will make it possible to introduce realistic economic accounting into the activities of enterprises.

One theme stands out concerning the Polish public among the many that await solutions. It is never off the pages of the press. It is everpresent on radio and television programs. This is the theme of the responsibility of those who sowed chaos, who undermined the economy of the people's state, the theme of the reckless activities of subversive, antisocialist groups. More and more documents made public in the press and on television reveal the danger which was hanging over socialist Poland and show the true face and aims of the ringleaders of the counterrevolution, unprincipled, cunning, cruel people, ready for the sake of their aims to sacrifice the lives of thousands and thousands of people. Many Poles, with personal experience from the Nazi occupation, justly compare these actions with the actions of the fascists.

In the last few days, for instance, details have become known of the antihuman psychological and physical terror to which the miners of some mines were subjected. Two miners who had decided to discontinue the strike were undressed by its organizers and sent up to the surface naked. The paper MONITOR DOLNOSLASKI, which is published in Wroclaw, reported what a young lad who went to work at the mine after Army service disclosed to the paper's editors. Once several men came up to him in the hostel and proposed that he should join Solidarity. He refused. And when he did not wish to take part in the strike either he was hit on the head and was stabbed in one of the passages of the mine. It was only by a miracle that he stayed alive.

A similar incident occurred at the Piast mine during the last strike. A child fell ill in one of the miners' families. A blood transfusion of a rare blood group which the father had was needed. But he was not allowed up to the surface.

Another man, discovering that his wife was ill, fled to the surface after only a couple of days but still did not manage to bid her farewell: She died of a heart attack.

Undoubtedly the consequences of deception, human degradation, psychological and physical terror, of the extremists' loud demagogical slogans, will continue to be felt for a long time. There was nothing behind them but inflated personal ambitions, a thirst for power, a pathological hatred toward socialism -- everything which the enemies of people's socialist Poland aspired to make a daily practice.

People's Poland is going through difficult days. Ahead lies the hard path of stabilization, re-establishment of economic equilibrium and consolidation of socialist foundations.

Soldiers Not 'Disillusioned'

NC051935 Paris AFP in English 1926 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan (AFP) -- The Soviet Government newspaper IZVESTIYA today denounced what it called "libelous bourgeois press reports" of a supposed disillusionment among Polish troops. The soldiers continued their duties with utmost responsibility, and with the support and confidence of the Polish people, IZVESTIYA said. As evidence, it said many soldiers had applied for membership in the Communist Party since the martial law proclamation on December 13 and had decided not to ask for end-of-the-year leave. IZVESTIYA accused the bourgeois press of taking its "hopes for reality".

"Every Polish soldier understands the importance for the people of the total restoration of order in the country, which is necessary for the normal work of the population and the strengthening and development of socialist Poland," it said.

TASS Reports on Situation

LD021326 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 2 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Jan, TASS -- The Polish news agency PAP reports that the situation in Poland remained calm on the first day of the new year. Transport was working normally, and ships were being unloaded on schedule in the ports on the Baltic coast. Enterprises with a continuous manufacturing process were operating. For example, more than 7,000 tons of steel were smelted at the Krakow iron and steel works on January 1.

Martial law introduced in the country, the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU writes today, is gradually creating conditions and prerequisites for overcoming the crisis more effectively, for eliminating anarchy and putting an end to illegal actions. There can be no return to the situation which existed prior to December 13, 1981, that is, to actions aimed at the overthrow of the socialist system. The enemies of socialism would want an early lifting of martial law in order to restore their positions. But their hopes are vain. Their true goals -- to turn Poland into an instrument for splitting the unity of the countries of the socialist community and for aggravating the international situation in line with the interests of imperialist forces -- will be completely exposed.

Voivodship press unmasks local Solidarity figures, publishing documents seized in their headquarters. GLOS RABOTNICZY cites facts from the biography of one such "defender" of the working class -- a member of the Presidium of Lodz inciting workers to stage strikes. The leadership of the trade union association lavishly rewarded him for his "diligence." Last November alone he pocketed more than 24,500 zlotys. Exactly such people, the newspaper points out, were straining after power.

Publishing copies of receipts indicating the sums of money received, the newspaper MONITOR SLASK DOLNY (Wroclaw) points out that for Solidarity figures in the city of Beilsko Biala strikes were a profitable business. For example, one Woitas, a member of the Presidium of local Solidarity received 15,000 zlotys during a strike alert. Each day strikes brought many thousands of zlotys to Solidarity figures, while the workers and the Polish state were paying for it.

The newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes that the proverb: "A friend in need is a friend indeed" has been confirmed once again. Exactly now when Poland needs support especially badly as a result of a prolonged operation of counter-revolutionary forces, when reactionary forces of capitalist countries sabotage efforts of the Polish authorities and take discriminatory measures with regard to Poland, the aid vitally needed by the Polish economy is coming from reliable Soviet friends and from other socialist countries.

The paramount significance and historical far-sightedness of the Polish-Soviet treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war cooperation signed in Moscow on April 21, 1945 has been confirmed once again. The treaty of friendly states and peoples is the corner-stone of Poland's participation in the work for peace and European security.

Constantly strengthening the defence potential of socialism and heightening vigilance, we have entered the year of 1982. That will be the 37th year of peace in Europe preserved thanks to combat cooperation of the armies united in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the newspaper underlines.

Commentary on Events

LD311558 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] A session of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic has been held in Warsaw. The political, social and economic results of activity in conditions of martial law were evaluated. It was noted that the cessation of strikes, which for many months paralyzed the economy, is creating possibilites for a growth of labor productivity and production. Anarchy in social and economic life has been eliminated. A more effective struggle against speculation and other forms of crime is leading to its reduction. There has been a considerable reduction in the number of economic crimes. The population feels itself to be more secure. Bringing the country out of the crisis is becoming a real possibility.

The Council of Ministers decided on details for the direction of economic development, and adopted a decision on labor conscription with immediate effect. Because of improved public discipline and the observance by the population of the instructions functioning in the country since 13 December, the curfew has been lifted for New Year's Eve.

On the proposal of the Military Council for National Salvation, the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic has adopted a decision to postpone the elections to local bodies until conditions for holding such elections in an atmosphere of total public calm and in accordance with the principles of the country's Constitution have been created. Deputies of local people's councils are instructed to continue to fulfill their duties until the new elections.

The central place in Poland's press is occupied by reports of restoration of order and normal working at enterprises, institutions, and in the countryside, where over the past few days there has been an increased sales of agricultural goods to the state. In order to gradually heal the national economy from paralysis, writes TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, full utilization must be made of the coal industry. It is essential to bring the level of coal extraction up to 170 million tons and to send 6 million tons for export.

Another leading theme in the Polish press is the mass anti-Polish campaign unleashed by the United States. Secretary of State Haig has joined it. At the Council of International Affairs in San Francisco he openly came out in favor of the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, and unequivocally expressed the hope that chaos in the economy and the spread of hunger would lead, as he put it, to a failure of the measures taken in connection with the introduction of martial law in the Polish People's Republic.

Such speeches unmask the schemes of the United States, which is striving to aggravate the already difficult situation for a considerable section of the population of Poland. In a commentary on this theme, WIADMOSCI SZCZECINSKIE writes: The anti-Polish actions of the United States should be called a classic example of American policy in relations to other countries.

Reagan has said that he is no longer interested in Poland and has closed all channels of economic assistance. We must show the world that we ourselves are able to solve our own problems. Then the Americans and other people of the Western countries will come to look on the Poles as partners rather than as supplicants. Our historical experience and the postwar reconstruction of Poland oblige all of us to unite our efforts to bring the country out of its crisis, writes the paper in conclusion.

23 Dec PRAVDA Report

PM301657 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 81 p 5

[Correspondent O. Losoto report: "In the Interests of the Motherland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Dec -- For several days now life in Poland has been proceeding within the strict framework of martial law. The press, radio and television note that a picture of gradual stabilization of the situation is emerging from the reports coming in from all corners of the country. The Polish working people have mostly accepted with understanding the imposition of martial law. The overwhelming majority of industrial enterprises are working normally. The population's provision with foodstuffs and necessities is becoming more regular. However, counterrevolution's attempts to create tension and provoke strikes are persisting. They have taken place in Warsaw, Gdansk, Wroclaw and several other cities and are taking place in Silesia. The forces of order, relying on the workers' support, are stopping these actions.

I visited many districts of Warsaw. Industrial enterprises are working here, urban transportation is functioning and stores are open, where preholiday business has already begun. On one street I witnessed the following scene: The inhabitants of nearby houses brought hot tea to the soldiers on patrol. An unforced conversation was struck up. Its tone was kindly and frank. An old woman, pouring out the fragrant brew, said: "The sooner everything is in order, the calmer it will be...."

As is well known, the Solidarity leaders, after 3 December when a session of the Presidium of the trade union association's National Commission was held in Radom, steered a course toward open confrontation with the people's power. On 11 and 12 December the National Commission assembled in Gdansk confirmed this course and took specific decisions aimed at seizing power in the country. The demonstrations in Warsaw and other cities planned for 17 December were to be one step on this direction. This is borne out by the instructions discovered in the Warsaw regional branch of Solidarity. They have been described in the Polish press, and millions of television viewers have seen them.

It has now become known that the extremist leadership of Solidarity and counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces entrenched in the trade union association intended before the new year to carry out a coup d'etat and seize power.

The government used all possible peaceful means in the political struggle imposed on the people's power by its opponents. The Army came out of the barracks only when the socialist state was faced with mortal danger. "An end has been put to the counterrevolutionary process," the Army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote after martial law had been imposed. "This has been done to save the country from catastrophe, to save socialist renewal."

The Military Council for National Salvation is receiving an increasing number of statements of support for the measures which are being taken from various organizations, social and professional groups and individuals. They speak of people's readiness to fulfill the raised production and job targets and to defend socialist gains.

Examples of people's conscientious work and their understanding of the country's needs are augmenting with every passing day. Last Saturday Polish miners extracted 556,000 tons of coal. This indicator is a Saturday record for the past year. At their own initiative working people are coming to work outside their normal hours. Thousands voluntarily cleared snow from the roads on Saturday and Sunday. On the streets you can meet poeple with red and white armbands. They are patrol personnel. The party organizations of many industrial enterprises suggested their formation. These patrols' task is to help keep public order.

Every issue of TRYBUNA LUDU carries roundups of reports on the situation in the country. Despite individual disturbances and attempts to provoke strikes, the national economy, as a report of the Militiary Council for National Salvation points out, is beginning to make headway. Although acute difficulties remain in the supply and provision of energy and raw materials, the work rhythm in industry as a whole has risen. Labor discipline has risen appreciably at the majority of enterprises, and better use is being made of the production potential.

Under present conditions the role of party organizations and of every PZPR member is particularly great. It is an open secret that Solidarity extremists in individual enterprises succeeded in disuniting labor collectives and introducing discord into their everyday life. Therefore, a great deal -- above all, the creation of a normal work rhythm atmosphere and the enhancement of people's sense of responsibility and their confidence in tomorrow -- now depends on the activeness of primary party organizations and their influence on the life of plants and establishments.

I visited a PZPR district committee -- Warsaw-Mokotow. What was noteworthy, above all, was the people's composure and businesslike attitude. District committee workers told me that party members have stepped up their activeness in enterprises, and party organizations are developing activity to rally labor collectives.

"Our doors are always open, as the saying goes," a party district committee secretary told me. "Communists and nonparty people come to the district committee. They make this offer: Use us; we are prepared to fulfill any mission. On the district committee's initiative a system of local groups of volunteers has now been set up, and they operate in city districts and help the military to guard buildings. These groups cover the entire district...."

Our conversation touched on many topics, but there was one chief topic: How, by what means, is the militancy of party organizations to be enhanced? Where party members are passive, a vacuum is formed and is at once filled by the enemy. The task is clear: to strengthen the party's ranks in every possible way and raise the ideological level of the work of party organizations. For this it is necessary to be in the midst of the masses, to struggle by word and deed against hostile influences on them and to exert party influence on labor collectives.

"We have outlined for ourselves," the secretary continued, "two main directions of activity. The first is the strengthening of discipline, above all party discipline. The second is the mobilization of the entire party aktiv, and communists' work with people in labor collectives. At the same time party organizations are devoting great attention to resolving social questions.

Everywhere that we have been these days we have seen that thousands upon thousands of people are working conscientiously to get Poland out of its present difficulties.

TASS TRANSMITS PAP REPORT ON RAKOWSKI SPEECH

LD051320 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, Jan (PAP) -- The following are excerpts from the speech delivered by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at the meeting held by chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, with Polish scientists on December 23, 1981.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski said, among other things: I used to be and I still am one of the collaborators of General Jaruzelski. Together with him and others I tried to do my best to make the Polish renewal bring about such results which would be most favourable for the society.

I was a co-author of the partnership system, i.e. such a political system which would reconcile contradictory interests of the Polish society, which would create a platform for shaping a better socialism for a better Poland, such a Poland which would enjoy prestige in the world, both in the East and in the West.

Quite a number of people who form the intellectual milieu were overwhelmed by an inexplicable masochism. Total criticism, total negation of everything that originated in People's Poland after 1945 were made like a new religion. Myths and messianic visions of a new deal in Europe started to be reborn in the minds of some Polish intellectuals.

Over the past few months we used to say almost everyday that the Polish economy extinguishes like a funeral candle. During the past ten months there was hardly a day without strikes in Poland: strike after strike on the lightest issues. Why many eminent personages of Polish science, culture and journalism did not appear on television to exclaim: People, control yourselves, we are in danger of a national catastrophe. [sentence as received] I was not to hear such exclamations.

For me that day was also different from others. But this is only one side of the matter. There is also the other side. Before we start to cure each other, in my opinion, we should clear the foreground. Polish intellectuals must also make a self-examination.

I put great responsibility for what has happened to the movement which originated in August 1980 on those Solidarnosc advisers coming from the Polish intelligentsia, short-sighted political gamblers, who gathered round the union and for their own egoistical purposes were pushing those young people towards anarchy, inspired morbid ambitions in them.

Very few people in the opinion-shaping milieu pointed out to the fact that there were forces in Solidarnsoc which should have been subjugated in order to keep the character of the post-August changes in Poland. I am saying this with the full sense of responsibility and with great sorrow.

Who protested against the organization which was was behind the lifestyle of many Solidarnosc activists? There were no protests.

What did strikes mean? Total disintegration of the Polish economy and the Polish state. What was happening in Poland directly led to erasing Poland from the map of Europe. I am saying this with full responsibility. And therefore, I came to the conclusion that the introduction of martial law was necessary for it was necessary to stop that rushing furious machine. I was of the opinion that those were the very last moments to produce a shock, for if the shock had not occurred, soon blood would have been shed in streams.

I believe that we shall get out of that difficult situation, that we are able to construct a better Poland, that order will prevail, and democratic processes will develop undisturbed. I should also like to say that as long as I am a member of the government, scientific and cultural milieus may depend on my aid and support in all matters which serve the country.

CSSR TV SHOWS PROGRAM LINKING CIA, SOLIDARITY

LD041640 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 4 Jan 82

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan, TASS -- The USSR central television today showed a programme by the Czechoslovak television "On the Path of Treason", which exposes close links that existed between the counter-revolutionaries in Poland and Western intelligence services, the American CIA in the first place. These were related by Polish citizen Andrzej Kolodziej, a former Solidarity activist, who had illegally crossed the Czechoslovak-Polish border and had been detained by Czechoslovak authorities.

He admitted at an interrogation that Solidarity had received "very much" from various organizations abroad and from across the ocean. In his words, Solidarity leaders used mostly U.S.-made technical communication means, including radio transmitters. The most powerful transmitter was closely guarded at the Solidarity residence. Kolodziej said the CIA had its agents in Poland, such as Jacek Kuron and Bronislaw Geremek.

SOVIET PAPER UNMASKS 'IMMORAL' SOLIDARITY LEADERS

LD051336 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0542 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan (TASS) -- Life is increasingly returning to normal in Poland, writes Warsaw correspondent Yu. Orlik in KOMSOMOL PRAVDA today. Order and calm reign in the streets of the towns. Production rhythm is being restored at enterprises. The state of martial law, the author notes, has been perceived by Poles with the understanding that this political act has put an end to the bacchanalia organized by counterrevolutionary forces, and has saved society from civil war.

It was hatred of socialism, the report continues, that dictated the evil plans of the leaders of Solidarity. The documents found in headquarters of regional sections of Solidarity, with which the Polish public has been widely acquainted by the press, radio and television, convince one that everything was ready for a counterrevolutionary coup.

The publication of the "archives" of the regional sections of Solidarity and of documents connected with the activities of Confederation for an Independent Poland and KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] has opened Polish citizens' eyes to just who these "defenders of the people" were. The dyed-in-the-wool anticommunist Kuron, fascist-minded dictator Bujak, "hangman" Jurczyk, former deserter and present thug Rulewski...the moral picture of the Solidarity leaders is laid bare in a revolting fashion. Squabbling, suspcion, slovenliness, financial machinations -- all this was completely typical of them.

"The adventurist plans of the enemies of socialism have collapsed," the correspondent stresses. "Poland's working class and peasant masses have shown, in an overwhelming majority, political maturity at a difficult time despite the fact that double-dyed demagogues from Solidarity and counterrevolutionary scum from KSS-KOR and Confederation for an Independent Poland have for 1 and 1/2 years been running down the party and the foundations of the Polish constitutional structure, and using blackmail, psychological terrorism and the threat of physical reprisals to divorce Polish society from socialism. They have failed! The generous sowing of anti-Soviet propaganda has not produced the desired shoots, either, and the assiduous efforts to weaken the unity of the countries of the socialist community have failed."

NORWAY'S PLANS TO ALLOW U.S. ARMS ENTRY EXAMINED

LD061000 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 6 Jan 82

["Yielding to Washington's Pressure" -- TASS headline; by TASS news analyst Vladimir Serov]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan, TASS -- Yielding to Washington's pressure, the Norwegian Government intends to start already this year the placing of American heavy weapons in Norway's territory. This follows from the statement by Norway's Minister for Defense Anders Sjaastad in an interview with the press service of the Norwegian Labour Party.

It must be recalled that the weapons are designed to arm a U.S. brigade of the Marines with a strength of 10 thousand, which under an American-Norwegian agreement is to be dispatched to Norway if in the opinion of Washington's administration a "crisis situation" emerges.

Although the above-mentioned agreement contains the stipulation that it does not change the Norwegian policy of renunciation of deployment of foreign troops and nuclear weapons in the country's territory in peace time, but, as a matter of fact, Norway's increasingly active participation in the military preparations of the USA and NATO is conducive to undermining and emasculating these important principles of Norway's military policy. Acting under the false pretext of Norway's defense from a mythical "Soviet menace," the USA is building up military preparations in its territory and the areas of northern Atlantic adjacent to it, which go far beyond the framework of that country's defence, endeavors to turn it into its advanced strategic base targeted on the USSR.

Follow some facts to prove that according to the admission of official Norwegian representatives themselves, U.S. strategic bombers F-111 land on Norwegian airports in Norwegian air fields and use Norway's air space for military exercises. Meanwhile it is an open secret that these aircraft are designed for strikes with the use of nuclear weapons.

As far as the U.S. Marines, depots for which are under construction in Norway, are concerned, their objective will be to protect the air fields to be used by U.S. strategic bombers rather than participate in the defense of northern Norway, as is officially claimed, the newspaper DAGBLADET once pointed out.

But does not the use of Norway's territory (already in peace time!) to serve American nuclear powered submarines carrying nuclear missiles, which ply in northern Atlantic, run counter to the aforementioned principles of Norway's military policy? Two Loran-S radio navigation stations used with these aims are already in operation in Norway (on Jan Mayen and Bear Islands). It is planned to build another eight such stations, including on Spitsbergen Archipelago. It is apt to recall in this connection that according to press reports, radio electronic spying stations beamed to the Soviet Union are already in operation in the north of Norway.

All these facts indicate that the United States is out to draw Norway, contrary to its national security interests, into implementation of its dangerous military plans which are conducive to a destabilisation of the military strategic situation and a heightening of tensions both in northern Europe and on the European Continent as a whole.

Being aware of the dangerous consequences of that, the peace-loving public of Norway and other Nordic countries support the idea to create a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. This would be the best guarantee for preserving peace, strengthening security and stability in that region.

FINNISH ECONOMIC TALKS HAVE 'GOOD PROSPECTS'

LD052230 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan, TASS -- Soviet-Finnish economic cooperation has good prospects. It is planned to double the volume of joint construction of various projects of Soviet territory in 1981-1985. The co-chairmen of the standing inter-governmental Soviet-Finnish Commission for Economic Cooperation, Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Nikolay Patolichev and Ahti Karjalainen, chairman of the Bank of Finland, discussed today a number of major projects which could be carried out by joint efforts.

Finnish companies will enlarge their contribution to the construction of the Kostumuksha mining combine (Karelia) with a capacity of 24 million tons of ore processed every year. It is planned to do additional work at the Svetogorsk pulp-and-paper combine, which was also built by Finnish companies.

Finnish companies will supply pre-fabricated homes for specialists servicing the gas pipeline between western Siberia and Western Europe. Talks are under way on extending the sea port in Tallinn and on building a railway car repair yard near Leningrad. The participation of Finnish companies in modernizing enterprises in the Soviet food, meat and dairy and light industries will become a new area of industrial cooperation. More hotels will be built in a number of Soviet cities.

Two atomic power stations with a capacity of 440 megawatts each -- now generating about 20 percent of Finland's entire electricity output -- have been built on Finnish territory with Soviet participation. Recently a contract for the joint designing of an atomic power station with a capacity of 1,000 megawatts was signed. The long-term program of cooperation between the USSR and Finland, which has been extended till 1995, envisages other projects of cooperation in Finland. They include the expansion of an iron-and-steel plant in the city of Raahe, the building of an ore-dressing combine for the commerical utilization of phosphorites and the construction and expansion of thermal power stations.

'ANTI-KEKKONEN WAVE' EVIDENT IN FINLAND

LD300828 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 30 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 30 Dec, TASS -- There are two especially important landmarks in contemporary history of Finland, writes PRAVDA's Helsinki correspondent Mikhail Kostikov.

"The first is Lenin's decree recognizing independece of Finland. It has become a decisive contribution of Soviet Russia to the cause of bringing the two peoples closer together and has laid down the foundation of friendly cooperation between them. The other landmark is the Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of 1948."

This treaty, Mikhail Kostikov writes, imparted a new content to the Soviet-Finnish relations and made up the foundation of Finland's foreign policy of friendship and all-round cooperation with the USSR, a policy which has become known all over the world as 'the line of Paasikivi-Kekkonen'. The vitality and efficiency of all the provisions of the treaty is confirmed by the fact that its term of operation has twice been extended without any amendments by mutual consent of the sides. The treaty also makes up the foundation of "cooperation of the two countries in the solution of major international problems of peace. This finds its expression among other things in a constant concern for the preservation of peace and stability in the north of Europe and the desire to find a mutually acceptable way for an early solution to the issue of declaring this region a nuclear-free zone."

A high level of political cooperation, the article says, exerts a valuable influence on the development of trade and economic, scientific and cultural contacts between the two countries.

Finland is passing through a difficult period, the article says. President Urho Kaleva Kekkonen withdraws from the political arena for health reasons. A whole epoch in the life of our northwestern neighbour and in the development of friendly relations between the USSR and Finland is linked with his name. A campaign is under way for the election of a new head of the Finnish state who has, under the country's constitution, vast rights, especially in the sphere of foreign policy. Finland's political parties have already nominated their candidates.

Finnish Communists at their 19th congress last spring adopted a decision formulating the demands which, in their opinion, should be made of the future president. They proceed from the fact that, in keeping with the national interests of Finland, the future president will consider it his chief task to fulfil the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union. "It is natural, therefore, that taking this opinion into account, all the nominees stress in their pre-election speeches the need to adhere to the 'line of Paasikivi-Kekkonen' in the future as well."

However, the article says, if one takes a close look at the election campaign one cannot fail to notice something else. "In a difficult situation that has taken shape after the withdrawal of President Kekkonen from the political arena the forces which have always opposed his policies have become notably more active." Many of the Finnish press organs write that even in the very same party from which Kekkonen himself comes, the Center Party, there appeared a sort of an "anti-Kekkonen wave" and this could not but make itself felt at the latest convention of the party. The same "wave" took the extremely right-wing Constitutional Party, and the Rural Party which is rather close to it, to the positions unusual for them. "But there can be no doubt that the line of these parties was and remains incompatible with Kekkonen's policy."

The correspondent notes that another circumstance draws attention in Finland. A well-coordinated campaign has long been going on in the country. The purpose of it is to prevent the most consistent adherents of Kekkonen's policy from making it to the presidency. "The coordinator of this campaign is being named. It is the organisation representing some industrial and financial associations of Finland, 'Eva' for short, that serves those groupings of big capital which are directly linked with the monopolies of imperialist Western powers."

FINNISH LEADERS SEND THANKS FOR CONGRATULATIONS

PM311101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] TASS -- Leonid Ilich Brezhnev has received a telegram from Mauno Koivisto, prime minister and acting president of Finland, expressing gratitude for the congratulations and good wishes to the Finnish people and to himself in connection with the country's independence day. We share your opinion," the reply telegram says, "that our countries' mutual relations, which are built on the foundations of the 1948 treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, are continuing their stable development for the benefit of both our peoples. We Finns are profoundly convinced, on the basis of our own experience, of the continuing value and usefulness of the system of multifaceted ties which has been set up between our countries, adn we are prepared to purposefully protect and further develop good-neighborly Finnish-Soviet relations in the future. "Permit me to convey to you, Mr Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, my respectful greeting and wishes for success."

Uusitalo to Tikhonov

LD280116 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has received a telegram from acting Finnish Prime Minister Uusitalo, who expressed sincere gratitude for the greetings and good wishes he received on the occasion of his country's independence day. The telegram says that the Finnish Government fully subscribes to Premier Tikhonov's words about the benefit gained from the relations of friendship, trust and many-sided cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union and the peoples of both our countries and, in a wider context, from the cause of peace and international cooperation.

I would like to assure you, the telegram goes on to say, that the Finnish Government will continue to promote the all-round development of Finnish-Soviet relations of friendship on the basis of the principles of the 1948 treaty of friendship and mutual aid.

TALYZIN ELECTED HEAD OF USSR-FINLAND SOCIETY

PM301311 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 81 Morning Edition p 7

[Text] TASS -- The fifth All-Union Conference of the USSR-Finland Society was held in Moscow 17 December. It stressed that Soviet-Finnish relations are firm and long-term by virtue of the participation of broad strata of the two countries' public in them.

The head of a delegation from the Finland-USSR Society, its chairman M. Miettunen, a Finnish state adviser, gave a high assessment of the society's activity.

The society's Central Board was elected and is again headed by N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION WITH FRG -- Moscow, 28 Dec, TASS -- Soviet and West German machine-builders are expanding trade and economic cooperation. As was reported to a TASS correspondent by Deputy Minister of Power Generating Machine-Building Viktor Lobanov, a good knowledge of each other's possibilities and the high quality of equipment, manufactured in both countries, enable joint deliveries of power generating machines to markets of third countries. Thus, Soviet turbines and other equipment are supplied in a set with West German-made boilers to Greece, Argentina. The total cost of these operations, which are considered by specialists as promising, make up approximately 100 million roubles. The question of establishing cooperation in production is now being discussed. Such negotiations on gas turbines are under way with the "Krupp," "Mannesman-Demag" and "Baumkof" firms. Some other projects are also at the stage of preliminary discussion. Viktor Lobanov noted that a list of possible spheres of cooperation in joint development and production of separate types of equipment might include turbines, motors, compressors and boiler units, various boiler-auxiliary equipment. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 28 Dec 81 LD]

U.S. ENGAGES IN 'CONSPIRACY' AGAINST LIBYA

PM051027 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 81 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Neznamov article under the rubric "Backstage of Events": "Multifaceted Brigandage"]

[Text] The U.S. administration continues to fuel a campaign of blackmail and threats against sovereign Libya -- a campaign which has recently been acquiring unprecedented dimensions.

How has that country "incensed" the masters of the White House?

There is no doubt that Washington dislikes the independent and principled stand of the Libyan Jamahiriyah on cardinal international questions.

Being one of the initiators and active members of the National Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, Libya is opposed to the Camp David deal and the operation of aggressive military blocs in the Near East.

The American administration is particularly annoyed at Libya's solidarity with peoples struggling against imperialist diktat and with national liberation movements on the African and Asian continents. For it is precisely the peoples' national liberation struggles in various regions which the U.S. has declared spheres of "vital interests" that the White House has labeled "international terrorism."

...Reports of a secret CIA plan for the overthrow of the Libyan Government and the physical annihilation of M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, filtered into the American press long ago.

According to NEWSWEEK magazine, this plan, which represents "a largescale and very costly operation involving several stages," received White House approval.

It is now becoming an increasingly obvious fact that one important element of the anti-Libyan conspiracy is the broad and malicious program to misinform world public opinion with the aim of depicting that Arab country as a "stronghold of international terrorism" and a "disturber" of the peace in the Near East, in Africa and even in the United States!

In the many-voiced anti-Libyan "chorus," extensive use is made of the mass media of Israel, Egypt and a number of West European countries. In the United States itself several government establishments regularly supply the press with anti-Libyan information. A. Haig, head of the American foreign policy department, has become a real "generator" of various kinds of fabrications.

Just recently, following the example of the U.S. secretary of state, the Libyan leaders have been accused of attempts on the life of the American ambassador in Rome and the U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in France. The NBC television company has put out a provocative report on a "Libyan conspiracy" supposedly being prepared against the present American administration.

If American officials are to be believed, a "detachment of terrorists" is operating even now on U.S. territory. The Libyan Government has given it instructions to eliminate the President, members of his family and other U.S. leaders.

The real reason behind Haig's new "revelation" is perfectly clear. What we have here is a desire, under cover of a ballyhoo about some "aggressive actions" by Tripoli, to divert world public attention from their own attempts to undermine the stability of the independent Libyan regime.

Measures aimed at the diplomatic and political isolation of the Libyan Jamahiriyah were also an important part of the American plan. With a view to discrediting Libya in the eyes of the OAU, Washington mounted a vociferous slander campaign over the presence of Libyan troops in Chad. Is there anything of which Libya is not being accused? Here they ignore the obvious fact that the Libyan troops were on Chad territory at the request of its government and that those troops ensured for the people of that country peace and quiet after a 15-year civil war.

At the same time, anti-Libyan sentiments are being fanned among a number of neighboring countries' leaders. In June 1981 U.S. State Department spokesman D. Fischer announced U.S. readiness to give additional military aid to states threatened by "Libyan terrorism." In essence, this means an attempt to surround Tripoli with a semicircle of hostile states.

Economic sanctions, which by all accounts the American administration has actively begun implementing, are to play a significant role in the policy of destabilizing the situation in Libya.

According to the Washington POST, American economic sabotage provides for ending purchases of Libyan oil, banning exports of oil rig spares to Libya and a number of other measures.

The decision of the American Exxon oil company to break off commercial ties with Tripoli and to recall all its personnel from that country began the implementation of these designs. The policy of economic smothering of the Libyan revolution has also been adopted by another corporation, Mobil oil, which, according to CBS, has also announced the breaking of its ties with Libya.

On 11 December U.S. President R. Reagan "recommended" that 1,500 American specialists working in Libya leave. At the same time all visits to Tripoli by U.S. citizens were banned.

As if that were not enough, Washington is trying to involve its NATO allies in an economic blockage of Libya by trying to get them to agree to end purchases of oil, the chief Libyan export item.

However, the most dangerous part of the CIA plan is undoubtedly the preparation for direct military intervention against that independent Arab state. The American fighters' attack on Libyan aircraft during the U.S. 6th Fleet's provocative maneuvers in the Gulf of Sidra was just the initial link in a chain of large-scale U.S. military preparations against Libya.

As international observers point out, the Pentagon's military "reprisals" provide, in particular, for Libyan ports to be blockaded and the approaches to them mined, for attacks on Libyan civil aircraft and ships on the high seas and for bombing airports and naval and oil installations.

The Bright Star maneuvers, the first stage of which was held on Egyptian territory, are another link in the chain of bellicose U.S. moves aimed at Libya. No one can remain in doubt as to their anti-Libyan thrust. However, the fact that Libya is not alone in its struggle is a substantial obstacle to realization of the perfidious plans. The Soviet Government's firm stand has had a sobering effect on the instigators of military conflicts. The American plans have also been dealt a heavy blow by the death of As-Sadat, on whom the chief stake was placed in military actions against Libya.

But it would be wrong to think that the White House has rejected the use of force (its own or someone else's) to overthrow the Libyan regime. President Reagan's creation of a special task group to observe the development of events in Libya, U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger's statement that the U.S. 6th Fleet is prepared to carry out, if necessary the evacuation of American personnel from that country, and other events of recent days show that the Washington administration is deliberately working to exacerbate American-Libyan relations, thereby preparing the grounds for an armed provocation against Tripoli.

By all accounts, the Sudanese regime of President J. Numayri is also to play a role in current U.S. preparations against Libya. Washington is increasing military deliveries to Khartoum, and another stage of the Bright Star exercises was held on Sudanese territory in direct proximity to Libya's borders. Finally, the United States is goading the Libyan opposition, above all that based in Egypt, Sudan and a number of other Arab countries, to take more vigorous action. The task of this opposition includes not only carrying out anti-Libyan propaganda but infiltrating combat groups onto the country's territory to blow up bridges, carry out sabotage operations and thus demonstrate the existence of discontent on the part of local political forces.

The anti-Libyan conspiracy has several "working variants" today. The majority of its details are still securely hidden away in the safes of the American espionage department. However, what has become known graphically attests to the full danger of the plans of the American administration, which has adopted the methods of medieval piracy. The American plan for the overthrow of M. al-Qadhdhafi's government is essentially a modern specimen of "international terrorism" elevated to the rank of state policy.

PRAVDA INTERVIEWS WEST BANK LEADER, 'ARAFAT

PM051529 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 81 p 5

[Correspondent R. Moseyev report: "The Palestinians' Unswerving Will"]

[Text] Beirut, Dec -- "Israel and those behing it will never bring us to our knees, since the people's dream of returning to their homeland cannot be extinguished." These words were spoken by Mustafa Darwish, member of the People's Committee of Shatila, one of the Palestinian refugee camps on the outskirts of the Lebanese capital. We met him on the eve of 1 January, a noteworthy date in the life of the Palestinian resistance movement, namely the 17th anniversary of the start of the Palestinians' armed struggle against the Israeli occupiers and for their own rights.

The history of Shatila, he said, differs little from the destinies of the other Palestinian camps in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. The first settlers appeared here in 1948. At that time hundreds of thousands of residents of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth and other cities and villages in Palestine left their homes, fleeing Israeli genocide. Today they make up the main bulk of the camp's inhabitants, although in recent years a considerable number of Palestinians and Lebanese have joined them after fleeing from Israeli brigandage in southern Lebanon.

A total of 52,000 people now live in Shatila. And this poses a wide range of political and administrative tasks for the People's Committee. They include finding people jobs, supplying them with food and housing, providing amenities in the camp, repairing roads, supplying water and electricity and many other problems. In its work the committee, which includes representatives of various Palestinian organizations, receives constant support from the PLO, including material support. Thanks to this assistance five schools have been built, a network of kindergartens has been organized and medical services have been set up in Shatila.

In recent years, M. Darwish goes on, the camp has acquired several factories and workshops of its own. They have been created within the framework of the Palestinian Samed production company and are concerned with the production of furniture, footwear, clothing and other necessary goods. These enterprises help to a considerable degree in resolving the employment problem.

The committee devotes priority attention to the cause of the masses' patriotic education and their political training.

This sphere of our work, Darwish says, is acquiring particular significance now that the Israeli ruling circles are stepping up their subversive activity against the Palestinian resistance movement and its vanguard the PLO, trying to sow discord in its ranks and preparing for new, large-scale aggressive acts. But the aggressor will not break our will nor make us renounce our right to self-determination and the creation of our own state.

The situation in the Near East has deteriorated sharply recently. Seeking to "legitimize" the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, Tel Aviv is at the same time stepping up its provocative sallies against detachments of the Palestinian resistance movement and Lebanon's national patriotic forces. According to news agency reports, new subunits have been drawn up close to the border regions of Lebanon and Syria.

The toughening of Israel's policy is a part of the U.S.-launched global militarist preparations in the Near East and one result of the American-Israeli "strategic cooperation" agreement.

This reactionary alliance, Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, told your correspondent, is a serious threat to peace and security for the Near East peoples and is aimed at Arab national liberation movements and the Palestinian resistance movement. It is no accident that the alliance members have recently stepped up their efforts to revive the bankrupt Camp David agreements, seeking to impose the notorious "administrative autonomy" on the Palestinians. Under the sign of this autonomy, they hope to perpetuate the occupation of Arab lands and deprive the Palestinians of the possibility of creating their own independent state.

However, despite all the intirgues of imperialism and Zionism, the Palestinian people's will remains unswerving. In our just struggle, Yasir 'Arafat went on to note, we have the support of all the world's peace-loving forces, headed by the Soviet Union. We value highly the ties of friendship and cooperation which have grown up with the USSR, whose peace-loving course is a reliable obstacle in the path of imperialist intrigues in the Near East.

ISRAELI, S. AFRICAN MILITARY CONTACTS ESCALATED

LD051514 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Text] Paris, 5 Jan, TASS -- The "strategic cooperation" agreement, signed between the United States and Israel, also extends to Africa, the weekly LE POINT issued here reports. During a recent tour of a number of African states, including the Republic of South Africa, by Israeli Defense Minister A. Sharon, the weekly says, military cooperation between Tel Aviv, Pretoria and some African regimes within the framework of that agreement was studied.

The New York TIMES says in this context that Israeli-South African military contacts have been raised to a qualitatively new level as a result of the visit by Israel's high-ranking emissary. While in the Republic of South Africa, Sharon more than once expressed the intentions of his government to sharply increase arems deliveries to the Pretoria regime and to "coordinate major military-political actions" in that region with it. The New York TIMES acknowledges that Tel Aviv's position meets with full understanding on the part of the leadership of the United States and other NATO countries.

At present, the Republic of South Africa accounts for over 70 percent of the exports of Tel Aviv's munitions industry. Pretoria buys from Israeli corporations missile launches, aircraft, anti-aircraft facilities, electronic equipment and other military hardware. An agreement has been concluded between the two countries on the manufacture of "Lavi" fighter bombers under Israeli licences in the Republic of South Africa, which are to become the main combat plane of the air force of the South African racists.

The Western press points out that the number of Israeli mercenaries operating in the republic of South Africa and Namibia, has been markedly increased in recent years. According to SWAPO, the South-West Africa People's Organization, special armed Israeli detachments take part in punitive operations against the Namibian people with the racist army.

The strengthening of nuclear cooperation between Tel Aviv and Pretoria, effected with the United States acting as go-between, is arousing particular anxiety in the world, above all in Africa and the Middle East. In exchange for supplies of nuclear technology, Israel receives dressed uranium from South Africa. According to some information, a nuclear submarine is being built at the naval base in Simonstown with the participation of Israeli specialists.

BRIEFS

PROTOCOL WITH PDRY YOUTH -- A week of friendship between young people in Yemen and the Soviet Union has ended in Aden. A protocol on cooperation during 1982-84 between the Komsomol and the Committee of Youth Organizations on the one hand and the Yemeni Socialist Union of Youth, on the other, has been signed. During meetings, talks and gatherings at various enterprises and educational establishments in the country the participants in the friendship week declared their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the earth against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. They condemned the aspiration of U.S. ruling circles and NATO to worsen the world situation by stepping up the arms race. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 31 Dec 81 LD]

SOVIET SUB CAPTAIN REPORTED IN LABOR CAMP

PM051407 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 30 Dec 81 p 1

[FOERENADE LANDSORTSTIDNINGAR report: "Gushin Sentenced to 3 Years]

[Text] Soviet submarine Captain Aleksandr Gushin has been sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp. He has already served one month of his sentence at a camp a few miles from the Latvian capital, Riga.

This has been reported by the FOERENADE LANSORTSTIDNINGAR [FLT] news bureau. The FLT correspondent in Moscow cites a "well-placed source with contacts in the military, including the Navy Department."

According to the source it was inevitable that Gushin would be punished. An acquittal would have been synonymous with an admission that Gushin had been acting on orders from the Soviet authorities when he slipped into the Karlskrona Archipelago in November [as published].

The official explanation given is that Gushin should have raised the alarm when the submarine's navigational instruments ceased to function correctly. Instead he continued unaided.

Gushin is said to have been sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp under so-called 'mild regime.' This means for example that his family from Riga will be allowed to visit him. The source has no information about what has happened to the rest of the crew.

On Tuesday [29 December] the Swedish Foreign Ministry had no information to confirm the FLT report.

PRAVDA REVIEW OF BREZHNEV BOOK ON UNIONS

PM041417 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 81 pp 2-3

[Unattributed review: "Reliable Support of the Party Among the Masses"; subhead reads "On the Publication of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's Book 'Soviet Trade Unions in Conditions of Developed Socialism'" -- passages in capitals published in boldface type]

[Text] A natural law of historical development is this: The deeper the transformations in the economic, social and spiritual life of society, the more broadly the masses participate in it and, in V.I. Lenin's words, the "more one needs to increase interest in it and a conscientious attitude and to convince ever new millions and tens of millions of this need" ("Complete Collected Works," Vol 42, p 140). Exeeptionally profound transformations occur at the stage of developed socialism, when the restructuring of social relations on the collectivist principles internally inherent in the new system is completed and when for that reason the role of activity, initiative and energy of the masses participating in conscious historical creation grows all the time.

The Soviet trade unions are a reliable support of the party among the masses and a powerful instrument for developing socialist democracy and involving working people in building communism. They have always been active participants in creating a new life. In conditions of mature socialism the trade unions are the public organization with the biggest mass membership, embracing today virtually all working people, including kolkhoz members.

Therefore the publication of the second edition of the book "Soviet Trade Unions in Conditions of Developed Socialism" ["Sovetskiye Profsoyuzy V Usloviyakh Razvitovo Sotsializma"] is an important event in the country's ideological and political life. In it the collected reports, speeches and articles of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev during the period November 1964 through February 1981 further develop the Leninist teaching on the trade unions and elaborate the theoretical bases and practical tasks of their activity at the present stage.

Historical experience has irrefutably confirmed the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the highest form of working class organization is a new type of party, a party of communists. It alone is capable of carrying the masses with it in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, of leading and directing the building of the new society and of combining the daily interests of the working man with the ultimate goals of social transformations.

This uniting and guiding role of the party was displayed with great force at all stages of the struggle for socialism. Our country's history has demonstrated with abundant clarity the absurdity of the concept of "trade union independence" and the unviability of anarchosyndicalism, which tried to present trade union associations as the leading forces of society, replace the state with them and attach the functions of a political party to them. The practice of the struggle for socialism also resolutely repudiated the Trotskyite idea of the "destatification" of the trade unions. "We can say with great satisfaction," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has noted in generalizing these lessons of history, "that our country's trade unions have marched together with the party from the first days of their existence" (p 275).

What determines the interrelationship between the party and the trade unions in socialist society? One of the prime tasks of the party leadership in conditions of mature socialism is to ensure the purposeful and coordinated development of all components of the social organism.

The trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations express the diverse specific interests of the various groups of the population. The party, in providing scope for political, economic and spiritual activity by Soviet people and their representatives and organizations, links and coordinates their interests with the interests of society and ensures that all the rivulets of current daily affairs combine harmoniously into a single stream.

It is precisely under the party's leadership that the trade unions exercise most fully and widely their functions, potential and rights granted by the Constitution. The party believes it to be of fundamental importance, the book notes, that all mass organizations operate boldly and confidently with the framework of their rights and functions (see p 33).

The party carries out its leadership of the trade unions primarily through its members. It "demands from every communist in a trade union not mere formal membership in this organization but active participation in all its activity," the anthology's author says (p 91). Party organizations, while not allowing petty tutelage of trade union committees, are under an obligation to assist to the utmost the development of their initiative and heighten attention to the selection and training of cadres.

It is precisely communists working in trade unions who are the target of the Leninist dictum "to live in the thick of the workers' life; to know it inside out; to be able to determine unerringly on any question and at any moment the mood of the masses, and their real needs, desires and thoughts; to be able to determine without a shadow of false idealization the degree of their consciousness and the force of the influence of any particular prejudice and remnant of the past; to be able to gain for oneself the unlimited trust of the masses by a comradely attitude to them and the solicitous satisfaction of their needs" (Vol 44, pp 348-349). The party confirmed its adherence to these principles once again at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The fact that party organizations provide daily leadership of the trade unions; have a profound insight into their affairs, interests and concerns and are constantly in the thick of the workers' life; is in itself an important factor for strengthening the indivisible unity of the party and the people.

The creation of mature socialism has posed in a new way many tasks in the country's economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development. The content of the Soviet trade unions' activity is also deepening in present-day conditions.

Defining the trade unions' place and role in socialist society, V.I. Lenin called them a school of administration, a school of management and a school of communism (See Vol 42, p 203). Are these directions in the trade unions' work exhausted in the conditions of developed socialism? "No, they are not exhausted," the book's author notes, "on the contrary, in these conditions they acquire still greater significance and are revealed even more fully" (p 275).

The Soviet trade unions have been and remain a school of administration. And -- this is of fundamental importance -- a mass school, a school where tens of millions of people learn the science of administration of production, the state and society. At the stage of mature socialism in the conditions of the state of the whole people, the increasingly broad, active participation of the working masses in the management of the country's life has become firmly established as a central direction in Soviet society's political development.

Here tremendous significance is attached to the development of democratic principles directly in production and to increasing every working person's activeness. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has noted, "Democracy is a mere hollow sound unless it embraces the environment in which a person works every day and applies his creative forces" (p 145).

Modern production demands that every worker be clearly aware of his place in the labor process, know what he is doing and why, and what depends on him, and feel that his labor is a necessary part of the common work. The labor collective and the work of its party, trade union and Komsomol organizations form a microcosm of the whole of society's life -- economic, political and spiritual. In essence it is the primary cell of our entire organism -- not only the economic organism, but also the social and political organism. This is the main field for the activity of the trade unions, which fulfill Lenin's behest to "teach the masses administration" (Vol 37, p 451).

The party's course is aimed at ensuring the further extension of working people's participation in the management of industrial enterprises, sovkhozes and kolkhozes and in the struggle to increase production efficiency and labor productivity and ensure the fuller use of available capacities and the strengthening of labor discipline.

The trade unions and all working people have great opportunities for this. Participation in production administration is not confirmed to the resolution of economic tasks within the framework of the individual collective. They have a rich arsenal of forms and methods for implementing their rights -- workers' meetings, permanent production conferences, collective contracts. In accordance with the USSR Constitution the trade unions also have the right to initiate legislation.

In a word, the trade unions have at their disposal many tried and tested ways of influencing decisive spheres of public life. However, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said from the platform of the 26th CPSU Congress, "At times the trade unions still lack initiative in the utilization of their extensive rights. They are not always persistent on questions of the fulfillment of collective contracts and labor protection and are still weak in their response to instances of violation of labor legislation, bureaucracy and red tape.

"This means that it is necessary to further step up the monitoring by trade unions and labor collectives of all questions of people's labor, life and everyday affairs and to extend their participation in the planning and management of production, the selection and placing of cadres and the efficient utilization of enterprises' and organizations' resources" (p 588-589).

The correct utilization of the broad rights and powers which the trade unions have in socialist society has nothing in common with the practice of "pressure" on state organs. In fulfilling their specific functions and tasks the Soviet trade unions operate in close contact with the soviets, the organs of the state of the whole people and public organizations, and organize their work in such a way as to ensure that it fully accords with their rights and their degree of responsibility for the destiny of socialism.

"Building a new labor discipline, building new forms of social ties between people, building new forms and methods of involving people in labor," as V.I. Lenin wrote, "all this is the work of many years, even decades" (Vol 40, p 316). The trade unions play an important role in this very worthwhile, very noble work. They have been and remain a school of economic management.

The sense of being the true master of production which the party has inculcated in the Soviet working class is vividly expressed in socialist competition. Organically linked with the main directions of the party's economic policy, it has become an important element in socialist economic management.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has described the mobilization of the masses' creative activeness, initiative and labor enthusiasm as a mighty force for accelerating economic growth, a great advantage of socialism and one of the main "secrets" of the new system's vitality and dynamism (See p 276). It is no accident that the party guided by Lenin's precepts attaches tremendous significance to the development of socialist competition.

The author of the anthology makes a great personal contribution to this work. The book cites extracts from his 9 November 1972 memorandum to the CPSU Central Committee which raised the question of organizing all-union socialist competition among working people in collectives of industrial enterprises and in construction and transport and formulated its main avenues and tasks. All-union socialist competition for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of national economic plans has become a tradition in recent 5-year plans and an important lever of creative popular initiative.

Competition exerts a profound influence on economic practice, on the country's entire sociopolitical life and on society's moral atmosphere. Its tremendous scale vividly shows the heroism of the mass and everyday work of millions of people about which V.I. Lenin wrote at the dawn of Soviet power. "Both the specific economic results of labor competition and the great educational potential contained in it are important for us," the book notes (p 446).

The Soviet trade unions, to which the party entrusted the organization of socialist competition over 60 years ago, were and remain a school of communism. The spiritual complexion of the new types of worker is molded to a great extent in this school.

Socialism is a society of people and labor. "We, comrades," the author of the anthology has said, "are building not a kingdom of idlers, not a land of milk and honey, but the most organized and industrious society in mankind's history. And the most industrious, conscientious, well-organized and highly conscious people will live in this society" (p 108). The advanced workers and innovators of socialist production -- the Soviet working class' best representatives whom the entire people emulate -- now express that new, communist morality. It is they who are the mass prototype of the new type of working person.

It is our trade unions' lofty vocation to elevate every working person to the standard of the advanced workers of the present. The path toward this goal is not easy or simple. And a powerful means for fostering a new attitude toward labor, as the party teaches, is to strive for an objective, fair assessment of what each person has done. The trade unions, which, in accordance with Soviet legislation, possess broad rights in questions of wages, norm-setting and rates and dispose of major funds formed from enterprises' incomes, can and must have a considerable say here. However, showing concern for working people's well-being, the author recalls, "does not mean being a 'kind uncle' for all workers regardless of their contribution to social production. Wages everywhere must be EARNED" (p 87).

In defending working people's interests and caring for their health, everyday life, housing conditions and leisure organization, trade unions are called upon to act decisively and unswerving whenever leaders of enterprises violate the requirements of labor law or forget the social needs of production collective members. But, in placing people's interests at the center of their activity, the trade unions are aware that it is impossible to improve people's lives and their working and everyday conditions without a constant upsurge in production and labor productivity growth.

Yes, only what has been produced can be distributed and consumed. This is a truism. Anyone who wants a better life must work more and better. In Lenin's words, the old custom of "regarding the measure of labor or the means of production from an unfree person's viewpoint" (Vol 35, p 199) is not characteristic of socialism. In their struggle for working people's interests, the trade unions, it follows from the books' materials, have gone beyond a so-called "defensive function." It has become their constant task to raise labor productivity, strengthen discipline, increase the level of organization and efficiency and make better use of all working people's creative forces and abilities.

Ours is a time of steady upsurge in the world-historic role of working people. Not just in the socialist countries but throughout the world the role of the working class and its organizations in the struggle for democracy, the peoples' freedom, social progress and peace is increasing. In capitalist countries trade unions are increasingly frequently performing the role of active organizers of actions in defense of their interests and rights, against the monopolies' antiworker policy and against unemployment, inflation and all forms of social and national oppression.

The noble aims of the struggle for peace are now coming to the fore in the international trade union movement's activity. IT IS NOT PREPARATION FOR WAR, CONDEMNING THE PEOPLES TO SENSELESS SQUANDERING OF THEIR MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL WEALTH, BUT THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE WHICH IS THE GUIDING THREAD TO THE FUTURE," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said from the 26th CPSU Congress rostrum (p 547). The working class, all working people and their organizations are vitally interested in ending the arms race and preventing war. And the more serried their ranks, the more successfully they will fulfill their mission.

The USSR's working people and Soviet trade unions, true to their internationalist duty and the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, are unfailingly maintaining a course toward the cohesion of the forces of struggle of the organized workers and trade union movement.

... The upcoming congress of Soviet trade unions was termed a major political event of 1982 by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the CPSU Central Committee November plenum. It will promote the further development of the political and creative activity of the masses and the growth of the leading role of the USSR's working class. The trade unions are guided in their activity by the clear and precise program advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress, which determined the Soviet trade union movement's strategy and indicated specific paths and means for attaining the tasks facing trade unions.

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's book "Soviet Trade Unions in Conditions of Developed Socialism" is further vivid evidence of the scientific validity of the CPSU's general course and of the daily concern for improving the activity of trade unions -- the party's reliable support among the masses.

RSFSR EDUCATION OFFICIAL VIEWS KOMSOMOL ROLE

PM290821 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 81 p 2

[T. Yaklovleva interview of RSFSR Deputy Education Minister L.K. Balyasnaya: "Growing Up a Citizen"]

[Text] [Question] Lyubov Kuzminichna, you spoke this summer at the all-union assembly of Komsomol school organization secretaries.

You appear to be used to addressing this particular audience, and not just because you have been the all-union Komsomol Central Committee secretary for schools. I'm told that in your time you have also been secretary of a school Komsomol organization.

[Answer] That is right, it was school No 1 in Chebarkul, Chelyabinskaya Oblast.

[Question] This makes your impressions of this meeting and of the children of today all the more interesting -- you can compare and contrast.

[Answer] Above all, it was again brought home to me how wrong we -- adults and teachers -- are to accuse them of lacking interest in school life and affairs. This is the view taken by some. Think back: At times the temperatures were in the eighties -- do you remember what it was like in Moscow last summer?

There were thousands of people at the open-air forum and you could scarely breathe, yet the kids wouldn't stop talking! The meeting went on for nearly 4 hours. More than 70 people spoke and there was a whole host of written comments and questions from the floor on textbooks, syllabuses and potential developments in public education. There was also a host of questions about the rights of the Komsomol organization in school and its present-day role. The broad spectrum of boys' and girls' interests is the main impression left by this meeting. You saw just how much they want to comprehend everything going on around them and to decide their attitude toward it all. In particular, I saw how concerned they are about the hidebound attitudes which they sometimes encounter in school and the Komsomol organization. They want to know where this comes from and how to get rid of it, ad they also want to understand their own mistakes.

I in turn feel that the youngsters' speeches and questions are a subject deserving serious consideration by those of us working in public education. You cannot, for example, ignore the fact that there were a good many questions of the following type: "What does one do when teachers disregard the Komsomol committee's views? What does one do when the Komsomol committee and the school's teaching staff have conflicting views?

[Question] Questions of this kind are not unusual in our mailbag either. Youngsters write about overprotectivenss and the fact that it is often the teacher's opinion rather than theirs which decides who is elected onto the Komsomol committee or class bureau. Here is a recent letter from Primorskiy Kray: "Please tell us what rights a secretary has regarding homeroom leaders. The school committee chairman and I are constantly being told that we are in charge in the school, even though we cannot say or do anything, have no freedom of action and are abused, checked and corrected. Checks and corrections are, of course, necessary, but there must be a limit and we must feel that we are an independent organization...."

[Answer] I could name plenty of schools from which you would just never receive letters of this kind.

I do not think you will be getting letters of this kind from school No 21 in Novgorod, School No 4 in the city of Cherepovets, from the village school in Stremutka, Pskovskaya Oblast, or from many others. The teaching staff there are convinced that the complex tasks facing modern public education cannot be solved without an active posture on the part of pupils and Komsomol members. I entirely agree with this viewpoint.

The regulations governing secondary general schools define the relationship between the teacher and Komsomol members in educational work as one of cooperation. If the teacher fails to grasp this he is depriving himself in the first instance of allies and assistants.

[Question] Why is it then that, despite the fact that this cooperative relationship now appears to be recognized in school regulations as a hard-and-fast rule, and the fact that this question has been discussed many times in the press and that there are not only articles and books but scientific studies proving the real value and need for this relationship in order to produce socially active individuals, why are there many places where in practice it is not a rule at all?

[Answer] That is a difficult question to answer. The specific situation obtaining in the school Komsomol organization must not be forgotten. It is operating inside an academic institution. Not out of malice, as the pupils themselves suppose, but quite unconsciously the teacher often carries over the "teacher-pupil" relationship from the classroom situation to a completely different sphere -- working with the Komsomol collective. For psychological reasons he finds it difficult to change his stance as a teacher.

Note that even teachers who are Komsomol members sometimes look down on their Komsomol comrades who are senior pupils. I remember an incident in a Leningrad school. It had a unified Komsomol organization: both teachers and pupils. One day half the teachers who were Komsomol members failed to turn up for a subbotnik. The committee secretary, a school girl, held a meeting, and all who failed to turn up incurred a penalty. Did she behave correctly? I believe so. But I remember how put out the school director was: for they were teachers, after all! And I had to explain to her that she was struggling against herself. Through her pedagogic talent, party flair and party principledness she herself had created a microclimate in the school whereby the pupils who were Komsomol members and the Komsomol committee felt themselves to be really responsible people in the school, capable of making serious decisions.

But it is not just a case of the incorrect standpoint of certain teachers or pedagogic collectives. Many years' work in the Komsomol and in public education enables me to assert that this very standpoint largely depends on a general underestimation by Komsomol committees of the role of school Komsomol organizations. Underestimation not in words but in practice. Tell me, would a Komsomol rayon committee ask a plant director to ensure attendance for a Komsomol subbotnik? No, it would, of course, turn to the plant's Komsomol committee. And if we are talking about a school? It would turn to the school director. There has willy-nilly asserted itself in everyday practice a trend not for direct leadership of school Komsomol committees but for indirect leadership through a school director, senior pioneer leader or organizer of extracurricular and extrascholastic educational work. Hence the view of the school Komsomol as a collective of children which has to be mollycoddled.

I finished school a long time ago, but when I meet up with my classmates we remember with gratitude not only our director and teachers but also Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Vovovozov, our Komsomol rayon committee secretary.

He was our senior comrade, to whom we turned for advice and from whom we learned how to live and work. He is dead now. But on the Komsomol's birthday my schoolfriends still place flowers at the monument marking his grave. I once asked the vast detachment of secretaries of school Komsomol organizations in Moscow and Moskovskaya Oblast: "Who can tell me the name and patronymic of the first secretary of your Komsomol rayon committee?" Of course, I did not expect them all to raise their hand. But not a single hand was raised. "Who among you has turned to the Komsomol rayon committee for assistance?" Just one youth raised his hand. The children do not even realize that they not only can but even must turn to the Komsomol rayon committee for advice or with a request, recommendations or suggestions and that this is not only their right but also their duty!

[Question] The teacher and his pupils who are Komsomol members are like-minded people, allies and comrades -- this, you believe, is the only correct standpoint. What steps is the Ministry of Education taking to assert this standpoint in life?

[Answer] First of all we are seeking to use the experience of progressive schools to show the teacher the advantages of precisely these relationships: The method recommendations "The Teacher and the Komsomol" have been drawn up, and experience of developing social activeness in Voronezhskaya Oblast schools and in Pskovskaya Oblast's Stremutka village school, which I have already mentioned, has been generalized. These questions were widely discussed at the pedagogic council sessions in August.

At the teachers' conferences in January 1982 we are recommending that just one question be raised for discussion in all rayons and cities of the RSFSR -- and this attests to the significance the ministry attaches to this: the creation of the pedagogic conditions for enhancing the role of Komsomol and pioneer organizations in the communist education of pupils in light of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions. We are recommending that public education departments carefully study the situation locally in order to determine the conditions which maximally ensure the independence, creativity, activeness and high degree of responsibility of Komsomol organizations in schools.

We believe that on the threshold of these conferences there must be more meetings of public education workers, school directors and party organization secretaries with school Komsomol organization secretaries, activists and even simply with individual collectives of schoolchildren Komsomol members, particularly in the 10th grade. It is important to see through their eyes the real state of affairs in the Komsomol organization and to feel with their heart what concerns and alarms them....

[Question] The editorial office recently received a letter from reader A.S. Subbotin. He writes that he has repeatedly observed how the children of an extended-day group spend their time: "They stand on the steps of the main entrance, roam about the backyard....in my view, patrons -- pioneers and Komsomol members -- could well help to organize outdoor games with the children." In fact, so much is said about the difficulties and misfortunes of the notorious extended day, but nothing is ever said (at any rate, I have never heard anything) about what Komsomol members can do here and how they can help....

"There is a kind of paradox in the life of schools' Komsomol organizations: On the one hand, there are frequent complaints that there is no real substance; on the other hand, this real substance, which would be of real benefit, is nearby. Do school Komsomol organizations themselves narrow the sphere of their activity too much? For independence, creativity, activiveness and responsibility can manifest themselves only in a real, serious matter.

[Answer] I believe that, in order to determine the sphere of application of their forces, Komsomol members must have a clear idea of the tasks which society sets schools and must know the main direction in the school's activity and the difficulties which it experiences. But we adults frequently steer children away from these difficulties, and then we ourselves accuse them of being dependent. There is no denying that this tendency exists today: to do everything with adults' hands not only for young children but also for maturing pupils. Teachers are on duty in school and in the city district. Parents repair the school, wash windows, equip rooms....

[Question] Organize excursions for senior pupils....

[Answer] Yes, organize excursions too. Although, of course, Kosmomol members could do this successfully -- both for themselves and for their younger comrades. I will remind you of A.V. Lunacharskiy's words: "While preparing to become a citizen of the state, they (schoolchildren) must feel themselves as soon as possible to be citizens of their school."

[Question] But what does it mean today -- to feel oneself "a citizen of one's school?"

[Answer] The country is resolving a task of tremendous social importance -- the implementation of universal secondary education. And this great task sheds new light on such apparently everyday and prosaic -- but particularly important: -- matters as the struggle against truancy, helping laggards, equipping study rooms, setting up circles and clubs, forming independent work habits, introducing scientific labor organization into the work of the schoolchild and fostering a careful and thrifty attitude toward the schoolhouse.

It is very important to humanize all the activity of the Komsomol organization in School: To increase Komsomol members' concern for their coevals and classmates, and particularly for children from unhappy families, the physically weak and the sick.

A girl wrote in a note to me: "Why was it that we all turned on the teachers en masse?" Indeed, do children know much about their teachers and their services to the motherland? About former teachers in their schools? Unfortunately, far from every school has teachers' boards of honor or exhibits relating to teachers in school museums, to their civic and pedagogic exploits. School leaders are to blame for this. But Komsomol members too! The more teachers and schoolchildren know about each other, the more certain it will be that they will be friends and the climate in the school will change for the better and, consequently, that the overall state of affairs in the school will improve.

I would like to ask schoolchildren Komsomol members to extend the sphere of the acitvity to concern for parents, grandmothers and grandfathers. If you do not learn how to show concern for your own relations, it is hard to believe that you will be able to live the joys and sorrows in the future of those people who will be alongside you.... Concern for labor and war veterans in the city district and among worker patrons -- it hardly needs to be said how necessary this is to adults. But is it thrice necessary to you yourselves above all.

[Question] The time of becoming an adult is a time for making a choice. Not only of profession, but also of determining moral values for oneself. How would you answer this typical school question which frequently crops up in our mail? I think you have heard it repeatedly in schools: "What is better -- to be an active mediocre pupil or a passive excellent one?"

[Answer] It is best of all to be an excellent pupil and a Komsomol activist. I realize that this is the ideal variant. Then I will answer like this: Whether someone gets a "five" or a "three," it is important that he studies conscientiously -- that is the main thing!

If a "three" is the limit of your potential, then I believe it is better to be a mediocre pupil and an active participant in all the school's social life than to be an excellent pupil and a passive person in everything that does not relate to your marks. But it is still worse to be an excellent pupil and take a prominent part in the school's social life, using both the Komsomol and participation in social work as a path to a career, as a means to obtain good references.

I will say honestly that I am troubled by the fact that there is an aktiv and a "passive" in school. But I am even more alarmed by so-called Komsomol activists who have already developed into individualists and egoists who treat their comrades haughtily. And, if you like, simply into careerists.

It is a good thing that much attention has been paid recently to the Komsomol aktiv's studies and to fostering organizational skills and abilities in children. But in my view we need an additional effort by Komsomol committees, public education organs and pedagogues for the moral education of child activists so that everyone of them sets a clear example of high communist morality, so that what is characteristic of the communist leader is characteristic and organic for everyone: the ability to think about and show concern for people, a high degree of purposefulness and the ability to subordinate personal interests to the interests of the collective.

And principledness. I draw attention to this because conformism, which is sometimes displayed by senior pupils who are Komsomol members, cannot but alarm us. The most "plausible" excuses are found here: He did not want to go against his comrades (although he knew perfectly well in his soul that they were wrong), he was afraid of getting bad references....

This alarm of mine is shared not only by pedagogues -- Komsomol activists also express their vigorous nonacceptance of such a standpoint. I recently received a letter from Anton Valdin, a pupil at Moscow's school No 820 who participated in the summer meeting of secretaries and members of Komsomol committees of school Komsomol organizations. "I found it unpleasant to hear from Komsomol members, secretaries and members of school Komsomol committees," Anton wrote, "words to the effect that they are unable to uphold their own correct -- they emphasized -- viewpoint. In my view this means that they do not want or wish really to prove their case, and this is egoism -- the egoism of people who do not seek earnestly to rectify the situation but who like just to talk about how badly life is treating them. I beg you, do not believe these hypocrites who want nothing but to win cheap authority by making a name for themselves as 'rebels' and approving actions such as herdlike (herdlike, not collective) truancy from lessons. You noticed, no doubt, that none of the 'fighters for justice' who participated in the discussion had turned to party organizations or organs. Those plaintiffs undoubtedly felt that in a comprehensive, objective examination of their statements the communists would expose the gross mistakes of the Komsomol committee -- and morbid pride demanded that that be prevented." The chief thing that I brought away from the meeting, Anton writes, is that it is necessary to know how to struggle, to have one's own standpoint and to be able to defend it.

I would like to hope that other children drew the same conclusion. I would like to see them as real organizers, propagandists and agitators for the great cause and for the great aims in whose name the Komsomol was set up in 1918 and whose ideals it has served all these years -- for which it enjoys tremendous prestige with the party and the people.

GRISHIN ADDRESSES CEREMONY IN SERPUKHOV 5 JAN

LD052306 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Excerpts] A solemn session in Serpukhov, at which the town was presented the Order of the Fatherland War, First Class, has just ended.

The solemn session is starting. Its participants are unanimously electing the honorary presidium consisting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee headed by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

Comrade Grishin, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, delivered a long speech at the meeting. He said in part:

[Begin Grishin recording] Today is an important event in the lives of the working people and inhabitants of Serpukhov and the Serpukhovskiy Rayon. The Order of the Fatherland War, First Class, is being presented to the town of Serpukhov. The town is receiving this award for the contribution the town's working people made in ensuring victory over the German fascist invaders near Moscow and for the successes the townspeople achieved in economic and cultural construction.

To begin with allow me to convey congratulations and good wishes, in connection with the award to the city, to all of the people of Serpukhov from Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [applause]

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, allow me also to cordially congratulate the kolkhoz of the town's working people and all of the people of Serpukhov on the town's receiving the Order of the Fatherland War, First Class, and to wish all of the working people fresh and major successes in their work for the benefit of Soviet homeland and the great cause of building communism. [applause]

The award which is being presented to the town today is a most distinguished award. However, it puts one under great obligation. It is necessary to develop the economy more efficiently and to improve industry, science and agriculture. It is necessary to step up the communist education of the working people; to rally them still closer around the party; to raise their vigilance toward the intrigues of the enemies of peace and socialism; to display greater concern toward people, toward the conditions of their work, everyday life and recreation and toward their personal interests which are, in the final analysis, state interests.

It is with a feeling of profound satisfaction that I fulfill the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by presenting the town of Serpukhov, Moskovskaya Oblast, with the high government award; the Order of the Fatherland War, First Class. [applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] Viktor Vasilyevich Grishin has pinned the Order on the Serpukhov Banner.

Konotop, first secretary of the Moskovskiy Obkom; Yeremeyenko, a female textile worker from the Krasnyy Tekstilshchik combine; Academician Logunov, vice president of the Academy of Sciences; and other comrades spoke at the solemn session.

On behalf of all people of Serpukhov, the participants in the solemn session have sent a letter of greetings to the CPSU Central Committee, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the country's Council of Ministers and to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

PRAVDA EDITORIAL VIEWS PARTY ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

LD041402 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 4 Jan 82

[From the PRAVDA review; PRAVDA editorial entitled: "Much Work Ahead"]

[Text] Broad horizons of constructive work have been opened up for the country by the decisions of the November 1981 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade Brezhnev's speech there. Discussion of these highly important documents, which was completed in the party organizations on the eve of the new year, has become a powerful creative stimulus for communists and for all working people. Efficiency, exactingness and the search for further potentialities for our growth, these have been the hallmarks of the plenums and meetings that have been held. Those who have been taking part in them, while warmly approving the domestic and foreign policy of the party, have been concerned above all with multiplying the contribution of their collectives and of the party organizations and resolving the large-scale tasks of 1982 and of the whole of 11th 5-Year Plan.

More than a third of the brigades of our enterprise will fulfill the annual plan by the 65th anniversary of October. That declaration was made from the platform of the plenum of Kaluzhskiy Obkom of the CPSU by (Yestigniyev), the leader of a blacksmiths' brigade at the machine-building works. A weaver at the (Kamskiy) cotton combine in Krasnoyarskiy Kray, (Veselkova), reported at a plenum of the kraykom that, having completed three annual quotas, she undertakes, by the 65th jubilee of the USSR, to fulfill five more. On behalf of his collective, (Shunskiy), chairman of (Kozminskiy) Kolkhoz in Stavropolye, assured his comrades in the kray party organization that the farm will double the sale of meat and increase the output of plant products 1.5 times in the course of the 5-year plan.

PRAVDA points out in its leading article that there are a great many such examples.

The development and implementation of the good program occupied a special place in the discussions. The party organizations are outlining measures which will help up to reduce to a minimum the dependence of agriculture on unfavorable weather conditions. At the same time, serious attention was paid to improving the structure of the agroindustrial complex and its management. It cannot be considered normal, for example, that many farms are making losses although the organizations which provide them with services are making profits and receiving bonuses.

The shock front in the countryside is livestock farming. Here reserves do exist, and they are quite considerable. Thus, the livestock farmers of a number of rayons of Azerbaijan have decided to increase their meat production by a minimum of 5 and of milk by 8 percent this year in comparison with last winter. In Kalininskaya Oblast, an extra 2,500 people have been sent to the farms; 383 party and 140 party-Komsomol groups have been set up, and 3,540 party organizers have been confirmed in their posts. It is envisaged that fuller use will be made of subsidiary plots: By the end of this year, there will be 1,100 of them at enterprises and organizations in Kazakhstan. They will provide the population with thousands of tons of meat and milk.

PRAVDA goes on to say that those taking part in the discussions gave considerable attention to the development of the fuel and energy complex. One of the decisive conditions of successful fulfillment of the 5-year plan is that the country should have a steady, uninterrupted supply of oil, coal, gas and electric power. The present 5-year plan, and the plan for 1982, envisage an appreciable increase in the bringing into operation of basic funds together with a lesser growth of capital investment.

In discussing the tasks put forward by the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, communists have urgently raised the questions of maximal concentration of labor, material and financial resources on the most important sites, above all those due for completion. For this purpose, party control over their construction must be tightened up everywhere. Measures must also be taken to enhance the mobility of the construction organizations, to move machinery and cadres about more effectively, and to master introduced capacities on time.

The course toward enhancing the efficiency of the national economy and toward its intensification, requires that better use be made of all resources. The participants in the plenums and meetings examined the most urgent problems of the economy from this point of departure. If it is to be made really economic, as the 26th CPSU Congress demanded, we will have to speed up considerably the rate at which machinery is being renewed. This sets great tasks for the scientific research and design institutes. In many regions, long-term integrated programs are being developed to reduce manual labor and to utilize fuel and energy rationally. The plenums of a number of party committees, Leningradskiy Obkom for example, decided, on the basis of disseminating the experience of frontranking collectives, to secure, in this 5-year plan, the whole growth of output while reducing the numbers of workers. Good results are being obtained at enterprises in Moskovskaya, Ivanovskaya and certain other oblasts, through competition for economy and thrift according to personal efficiency accounts.

It is important to make more active use of this experience everywhere, PRAVDA stresses.

A characteristic feature of the plenums and gatherings was the increased demand placed on cadres. The managers of enterprises and associations and the leaders of oblast, kray and republic management bodies who have not yet properly restructured their work in accordance with the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress were named and subjected to justifiable criticism. Serious criticisms were made of union ministries and departments. The Ministry of the Coal Industry, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of Railways were criticized in particular, substantial shortcomings in the planning of production, in material-technical supply and in the resolution of social problems were noted, the need to implement more rapidly measures to improve the economic mechanism was spoken of with particular concern.

One of the most important tasks today is to improve further party management of the economy. It is not a question of petty tutelage or of usurping the role of the Soviet and economic organs. The essential thing is to educate the cadres consistently in the spirit of initiative, efficiency and discipline; to intensify control and checking of implementation; to raise the militancy of the primary party organisations.

The editorial says in conclusion: The decisions of the November CPSU Central Committee plenum inspire Soviet people to great new work. Nationwide socialist competition is aimed at successful fulfillment of the tasks of 1982 and of the 5-year plan as a whole. The creative quest of the millions, and their activeness at work and in the political field, are the guarantee that the party's plans will be carried out successfully.

RADIO REPORTS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS END DEC

LD250310/LD3000334/LD030331 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 20-30 December. Times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

20 December

New agricultural machinery is arriving in kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Armenia. This includes high-productivity sugar beet harvesting combines, tractors for working on steep slopes, and tomato harvesting machines. The republic plans to put one-third more equipment into the fields next year. To quote figures for the whole country, in the 5-year period USSR agriculture will receive 1,870,000 tractors, about 1.5 million trucks and 600,000 grain harvesting combines. (0800 GMT)

21 December

Preparation of agricultural machinery for next year's field work is progressing well. In the country as a whole 4 percent more tractors have been overhauled than at this time last year, 5 percent more cultivators and 6 percent more seed drills. Organization of the work has been improved. Special workshops have been set up to overhaul all makes of tractors. Kolkhoz and sovkhoz workships have been reequipped with new machine tools. Socialist competition among rural mechanizers has become more active in machine overhauling. This is particularly true of Latvia, (Tataria) and Khersonskaya Oblast. (1200 GMT)

Ipatovskiy Rayon has completed preparation of cereal crop seed for spring sowing, as have many state and collective farms in Stavropolaskiy Kray. (1200 GMT)

Laying of manure for winter crops is underway in Kirgizia, with 1.5-2 quintals of nitrogen-phosphorus fertilizer being used per hectare. (1430 GMT)

Seed is being prepared for spring sowing of grain and cereals in Kirgizia. More than 300,000 quintals are ready; that is over one-half of the total. (1430 GMT)

22 December

Repair work on harvest machinery is going full steam ahead in most areas of the USSR. However, preparation of equipment on some farms is being carried out slowly. In Kirgizia and Turkmenia less than one-half of all cultivators and little more than one-half of all seed drills have been prepared to date; these republics are among the first to start sowing. As yet, little equipment is ready for work in Leningradskaya, Astrakhanskaya, Tomskaya and some other oblasts in the RSFSR. (1200 GMT)

Work has been completed on checking the areas sown to winter wheat between Lake Alakol and the Ili River valley in Kazakhstan. The grain is developing well here. This check will be repeated in spring. Photoelectronic equipment installed in an airborne laboratory was used in the work, which also identified patches in need of special attention. Other areas of Kazakhstan have also begun using this method of checking the winter crop area. (1200 GMT)

23 December

Kiev: Agricultural workers in the Ukraine have ensured supplies of seeds for next year's harvest. Over 1.5 million tons has been prepared. (0500 GMT)

Land-improvers in southern Belorussia are now preparing for next year. They have handed over 47,000 hectares of land to farms in Brestskaya, Minskaya and Gomelskaya Oblasts for crop rotation. (0530)

Khersonskaya Oblast farms are achieving the highest rates in the Ukraine for equipment repairs. Ninety percent of the tractors and one-half of the combines have been made ready. (1000 GMT)

Kirgizia has fulfilled the plans and socialist pledges for the sale to the state of grain, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, grapes, cucurbits, essential oil crops and silk cocoons. The republic's farms supplied 400,000 tons of grain. The tasks for the supplies of vegetables, fruit and cucurbits have also been fulfilled. (1650 GMT)

26 December

The mechanizers of Bryanskaya Oblast are repairing agricultural machinery at a very fast rate. All cultivating and sowing machines are ready for spring work. Seventy percent of all grain harvesters will be ready on the eve of the new year. (1200 GMT)

Agricultural pilots in Odessa have started to feed combined mineral fertilizers to the winter crops. In spring it is planned to fertilize more than 250,000 hectares of the sown area. (1200 GMT)

27 December

Farms in Akaltynskiy Rayon were the first in Uzbekistan to complete repair work on agricultural machinery for the spring. Certificates have been issued for 2,000 tractors. (0800 GMT)

A large irrigation system has been handed over for use in the Mariyskaya ASSR. Over the last 5 years the republic's land reclamation workers have put about 40,000 hectares into agricultural use. (1400 GMT)

28 December

Tadzhik farmers have plowed almost 300,000 hectares of fallow land, 83 percent of plan; 230,000 of these hectares are for cotton. (0700 GMT)

30 December

Altayskiy Kray's grain growers have prepared seeds for spring crops. Grain crops will be sown on 4 million hectares in the kray. (1100 GMT)

MID-DECEMBER WEATHER, CROP STATUS REPORTED

PM051151 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Dec 81 p 1

[Agrometerologist A. Grishina "Report From the USSR Hydrometeorological Center": "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] In the second 10-day period in December it grew colder in western regions of the Ukraine, in Belorussia and the Baltic, in the northwest of the Central Region and over most of the Northwest Region. In these regions the average temperature over the 10 days was 2-7 degrees below the average values over a number of years. On some nights the air temperature fell to minus 15 or even minus 25 degrees.

In the central part of the USSR's European territory the weather over the 10-day period was changeable. For the first 5 days the weather was mild, with heavy snowfalls turning into rain.

On 13 December in Moscow, Vologda, Gorkiy and Kharkov the maximum temperature was 2 degrees above the absolute maximum. In the middle of the 10-day period the temperature fell. With clearer weather, it fell to 16-25 degrees, [as published] and to minus 30 degrees in the north of the Central Region. On average over the 10 days the temperature was 2-4 degrees above the normal.

Over most of the territory of the European part of the USSR it grew warmer at the end of the 10-day period. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses here were under a snow cover 15-30 cm deep.

In the North Caucasus, Volga and Urals Regions the weather remained mild for the time of year. The average temperature over the 10-day period was 5-8 degrees above normal here, and 9-12 degrees above normal in the Bashkirskaya ASSR and Orenburgskaya Oblast. On 17 December in Orenburg the absolute maximum temperature was exceeded by a 4 degrees. It was particularly warm in the Crimea and Krasnodarskiy Kray, where on some days the temperature rose to 16-20 degrees. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses were in a state of weak vegetation for most of the 10-day period here.

Over most of the territory precipitation occurred on 4-8 days. It was most considerable (30-50 mm, or 70-90 mm in some places) over most of the Ukraine, in the Central and the Central Chernozem Regions and in a number of Belorussian oblasts, and also in Rostovskaya Oblast and Krasnodarskiy Kray.

Warm weather persisted in the Transcaucasian republics. The average temperature was 4-8 degrees above the average over many years. Over most of the territory precipitation was insignificant. In western regions of Georgia 11-30 mm fell, and 40-80 mm fell on the Black Sea coast.

In the agricultural regions of western Siberia and in most oblasts of Kazkhstan the weather remained very mild for the time of year, without precipitation. The average air temperature over the 10 days was 4-9 degrees above the average over many years. On some days the temperatures rose considerably in Tyumenskaya Oblast, northwestern Kazakhstan and Uralskaya and Aktyubinskaya Oblasts. The depth of the snow cover did not change substantially over the 10 days. On 20 December it was 11-25 cm in western Siberia and the northern half of Kazakhstan, or 1-10 cm in some regions.

In eastern Siberia and the far east the weather remained mild, mainly without precipitation. The average temperature over the 10 days was 3-10 degrees above normal. On some days thaws occurred in the south of Krasnoyarskiy and Primorskiy Krays. Severe frosts (minus 30 to minus 34 degrees at night) were observed only in the northeast of Irkutskaya Oblast, the east of Chitinskaya Oblast and in Amurskaya Oblast.

Warm weather, without significant precipitation, persisted in the central Asian republics. The average temperature over the 10 days was 4-8 degrees above normal. By day it rose to 25 degrees in most regions, and to 17 degrees in the lowlands of Kirgizia. In Ashkhabad on 17 December the temperature reached the absolute maximum (25 degrees). At the end of the 10-day period it became cooler. Over most of the 10-day period the winter grain crops were growing, except in the fields of Kirgizia.

SOVIET ICBM TESTS REPORTED IN NORWEGIAN SEA

PM051547 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 30 Dec 81 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Soviet Missile Test in Norwegian Sea"]

[Text] On Tuesday morning [29 December] the Soviet Union launched a strategic submarine missile in the Norwegian Sea northwest of Tromsoe.

"The launch is seen as a routine missile test. The Russians also carried out a similar launch in the Norwegian Sea in November last year," Defense Ministry Departmental Chief Erik Senstad told AFTENPOSTEN.

The missiles were launched in international waters and landed on Soviet territory. For this reason advance warning was not called for, Senstad said. He also said that in connection with advance warning there are no precedents of what is good "international practice" in the case of such missile launches. Norway expects such missile tests to take place in the future also.

Such strategic ICBMs are generally launched from the Soviet Union's most modern Delta class submarines.

TASS VIEWS OPERATION OF COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES

LD301205 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1908 GMT 29 Dec 81

["Radio Satellites for Radio Hams" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS) -- Radio ham communications satellites launched on 17 December 1981 in the Soviet Union were created by the collective of DOSAAF radio hams. The apparatus installed on board them is being used for conducting long-distance radio communications between radio hams, and for transmitting radiotelemetric information from the satellites to earth.

The radio ham satellites work in the following way. The relays on the satellites "Radio-5," "Radio-6" and "Radio-7" and "Radio-8" have these frequency bands: "Radio-5","Radio-6" -- 145 910: 145 950 KhZ (earth-satellite), 29 410: 29 450 KhZ (satellite-earth): "Radio-7," Radio-8" -- 145 960: 146 000 KhZ (earth-satellite), 29 460: 29 500 KhZ (satellite-earth).

The satellites "Radio-5" and "Radio-7" include automatic operators -- the so-called "robots," which operate on the frequencies: "Radio-5": 145 826 KhZ (earth-satellite), 29 331 KhZ (satellite-earth); "Radio-7": 145 835 KhZ (earth-satellite), 29 341 KhZ (satellite-earth). For operation with the "robot," one's own call-up must be sent after it has issued the general call-up. This should consist of the satellite's callsign, DE, one's own callsign, AR all run together. All this is transmitted once.

Radio beacons are operating on all the satellites.

According to measurements taken by the hams, the period of orbit of the satellites is: "Radio-5" -- 119.6 min; "Radio-6" -- 118.8 min; "Radio-7" -- 119.4; "Radio-8" -- 119.8.

Wednesday is a day for experimental work. Radio hams are not permitted to conduct communications via the satellites on that day.